

...Буде суд
що ж,
БУДЕМО
БИТИСЯ!

В. МОРОЗ '71



Missing Manitoban Perspective

This year, as is the case every year, the typical first-year university student who wishes to join a Ukrainian Students' Club will be faced with a most enviable dilemma. Which one of the four or five Ukrainian Students' Clubs on the University of Manitoba campus — some of which have the nasty habit of disappearing one year only to reappear the next year — deserve his membership?

Traditionally, narrow-minded parochialism, religious prejudices and bigotry have substantially simplified the student's choice. For those brought up in a Catholic environment where the loftiest manifestation of one's Ukrainianism consists of attendance at church services held in Old Slavonic and more recently Ukrainian languages, or the periodic consumption of 'pyrohy' and 'holubtsy', the obvious choice was OBNOVA. On the other hand the students brought up in the Orthodox faith would just as automatically gravitate toward their club, ST. ILARION SOCIETY. For those not thoroughly impressed with the exclusive rights of salvation granted to their particular church, as well as those misguided idealists who feel that there must be something more to being Ukrainian than simply devouring the prescribed foods on the appropriate

religious holidays and dancing the 'hopak' or singing 'Reve ta stohne' sometime in March every year, ALPHA-OMEGA, recently metamorphosed as UKRAINIAN STUDENTS' CLUB seemed to offer the solution... though it must be admitted, it seldom provided the new student with any sense of direction or outlet for his idealism. Finally, for that rarest specie of Ukrainian student, those who come to university for the purpose of pursuing a genuine intellectual interest and possess the gift of verbal self-expression the UKRAINIAN LITERARY CIRCLE appeared a few years ago. It is even rumored occasionally that a branch of TUSM, a politically oriented student's association affiliated with the U.L.F. and extremely influential in the U.S.A., is in existence somewhere in Winnipeg. Unfortunately to the 1st year student, unacquainted with TUSM's esoteric ideological tenets, membership in the association seems highly unrealistic and it is doubtful whether TUSM is interested in obtaining a mass membership.

If SUSK, the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union in Canada is to evolve into a genuine student movement encompassing all students who are conscious and proud of their Ukrainian heritage, and who are ready to present a

united front in support of their community's demands regardless of whether these pertain to our position in Canada or to the position of our brothers and sisters in the USSR, it is absolutely necessary their goals assume priorities which are more relevant to the needs of a national community threatened with mechanical extermination on its own occupied territories and with assimilation and absorption in the "free world". Rather than concerning themselves with outdoing last year's social activities club executives should take concrete steps to acquaint their membership with the issues which confront the Ukrainian people in Canada as well as in the USSR; individual students should acquaint themselves with the historical struggle of the Ukrainian people, especially with its revolutionary traditions — nationalist, socialist and anarchist. Only through the cultivation of values such as critical inquiry, appreciation of one's cultural accomplishments, and political awareness can Ukrainian students' clubs hope to justify their existence. The sectarian or exclusively social club must be revealed as nothing more than an anachronism.

Perhaps then the first year student will no longer be faced with a dilemma.

"Joy of Freedom"

The "Joy of Freedom" Festival-Dance, to commemorate the 54th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of Ukraine, to be held in Hamilton on January 28th, has shaped up to be the most excitingly unique social experience of the new year. Groups from Toronto will beat out everything from acid-rock to polkas and roving minstrels will help all sing their hearts out.

A glance at the entertainment shows that it's a cross between the wildest Ukrainian wedding and the Konopljia Pub of the Ukrainian Canadian Festival of the Arts. The evening starts off with the Kosaks-Five, a Montreal based polka-jazz group who has already entertained us at the Thunder Bay Festival. This is followed by the girls' student folk ensemble, "Mriji" and the well-known singer, composer, guitar-playing star, Zirka Radj from Toronto.

Dancing then takes the spotlight with the St. Catharines Folk Dancing Ensemble, "Dunai", followed by "Vorona", a group popular for its loud appearances in the Toronto area. "Vorona" always manages to draw a large crowd with its mellowed mix of blues, soul and

acid-rock, not to mention their own flashing style of polkas.

During breaks in the bill, the roving minstrels will loosen tongues as will the bar. After all this what more could there be? A buffet will be there for the eating, flowers for the girls and surprises for everyone. It's an incredible line-up and it will only happen once!

As typically Ukrainian, advertising got off to a slow start but it's now in very capable hands and rolling fine. The McMaster Ukrainian Students' Association (MUSA), the coordinator of the Festival-Dance, has never really tackled anything this big. It is definitely a first for them and for all the students to participate from the whole area.

And so, students in Southern Ontario, get together amongst true friends, in Hamilton, enjoy life, and understand, if only slightly, what Joy of Freedom brings!

Steve Proczynsky,
Chairman, Co-ordinating
Committee.

Wally Daschko,
Advertising Co-ordinator.

Horse Laugh

In the last issue of STUDENT it was stated that "you are no doubt aware of the fact that Leon Trotsky is not on the STUDENT staff" (p.2). Well, that's good. That so-and-so as far as the Ukrainian people is concerned would hardly deserve such an honor.

Remember, it was Trotsky, Chairman of the Military Revolutionary Council, whose troops ruthlessly crushed the first all-Ukrainian national revolutionary upheaval of the 20th century only because it was Ukrainian (don't take it as a cliché — just read history). Hear Trotsky:

"...obscure separatism... We must put an end to this partisan mentality of the national states..." (except Russian, of course...)

"...the extreme importance emerges of delivering a rapid and sharp blow at Kiev with the aim of gaining possession of the political centre of Ukraine."

"...radical, implacable liquidation of the partisan movement, of separatism..."

Remember, it was Trotsky's army that had massacred those 300 Ukrainian students at Kruty (if only...) in whose memory a few months ago STUDENT shed so many, as it appears now, dry tears. Remember, that the so-called "Red Terror" and the "Iron Broom" was presided over by the famous trio

Lenin-Trotsky-Dzierzhinsky (chief of Cheka). For instance, regarding the tens of thousands of former military officers (or those who were in active service) Trotsky ordered that "in the event of treachery or desertion to the enemy's camp on their part their families (!) would be arrested, and that a signature to this effect be obtained from them. By this means we shall lighten the load of the prisons and obtain military specialists." Just imagine the pandemonium that must have broken out after this order (I guess one of the finest accomplishments for the benefit of the people...). And the "Iron Broom", which relied on armed coercion of the strictly Russian manned "Prodarmia" to requisition grain from the Ukrainian peasantry. Thus, the second Soviet Russian invasion of Ukraine (Feb. 1919 to Aug. 1919) is most often described as "the grain expedition," since the total attention of the Russian Communist Party was centered around Ukrainian food-stuffs as far as Ukraine was concerned at that time. Time and again Lenin sent personal orders to the Bolsheviks in Ukraine demanding grain and more grain. On March 19, 1919, for instance, Lenin wrote to Schlicher:

"The amount of grain in Ukraine is enormous, but we cannot take everything at once. Although we

have sent our best men to Ukraine they all tell us 'the supply is enormous but it is impossible to collect because there is no apparatus.'"

The worst times, when we were sitting in Smolny following the October Revolution, is nothing in comparison with the difficulties now in Ukraine. The Ukrainian comrades almost shout that there is no people to build the Soviet power, there is no apparatus, no centre...

We at the Central Committee have decided to do everything to build the apparatus in Ukraine, and on the first of June to receive for this 50 million puds (about 1,000,000 tons!) of grain."

(Some exchange of goods...!)

Shortly after, Lenin sent another telegram to his henchman stating that "if you will not deliver the 50 million puds of grain by May or June (1919) we will be doomed." Lenin, under the influence of the economic emergency, looked at Ukraine from Ukraine from the point of view of grain: how many "puds" of grain there were, how many could be taken from there, or how many had already been taken. Simultaneously, with the grain requisitions the Bolsheviks began to implement their "land reform", forcing the peasants into communes, which provoked a violent reaction not only from the peasantry but even from the Ukrainian Left, such as the

Borot'bists and Independents who had previously supported the Bolsheviks against the Directory. Ukraine was looked upon solely as an economic base for Russia. Only lip service was paid to the national question, socio-economic "liberation" and the rest of the slogans.

These neo-imperialistic activities caused massive uprisings, partisan movements, and other resistance activities, which were ordered to be crushed by the same team of "humanists". Echoing Lenin's attitude toward Ukrainian people's resistance:

"...issue instructions for and put into effect the wholesale disarming of the population; apply shooting on the spot without mercy, to every case of concealment of a single rifle. The crux of the situation is swift victory in the Donbas, the collection of all rifles from the villages..."

(consider that this was supposed to be a revolution of workers and peasants against their oppressors)

"...I advise you to devote yourself utterly to liquidating the uprising."

Trotsky did his bloody job as best as he could. Notice his reaction:

"It must be said that everyone in the Ukraine except the soldiers possesses rifles and ammunition. The state of the soldier is the state in which the Ukrainian peasant finds himself until such time as he receives a rifle with which to return back to his own village... The

number of rifles held by the population is such that, when one brigade foraged around in the area where it was stationed, it collected a thousand rifles... We must apply a hot iron to the spine of the Ukrainian kulak class, and then the right conditions for getting work done will be established (Obviously, as we know from experience, everyone who refused to submit to this sort of looting — 1,000,000 tons of Ukrainian grain for Lenin in exchange for party mobsters — was branded a "kulak" or "enemy of the people").

Here we have an example of who was doing the suppressing of the uprisings and for what purpose (according to Trotsky):

"I demanded the dispatch here of five hundred Moscow district effectives, several special purpose detachments and a Cheka battalion from reliable areas. All these units are now more needed here in Ukraine than anywhere else, if we wish to hold on to it (i.e. Ukraine)."

And here we have an example of how Trotsky's "hot iron" was applied by his boys (in Leo's own words):

"In Odessa, according to today's reports, for want of rounds they are having to use hand grenades to beat off attacks from the settlers (He forgot to call them 'kulaks'...) who have risen in revolt. It is vital that 3 inch ammunition be delivered to the Twelfth Army." (Can't you sense a paradox here? "revolutionaries" using hand grenades and 3 inch ammo to beat back... peasants... continued...p. 5

Exclusive to Student: The official organ of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union.

On the occasion of its 30th Anniversary the Ukrainian Students' Club of the University of Toronto cordially invites all readers of Student to attend the Formal Graduation Banquet and Ball to be held at Hart House, University of Toronto on Friday, February 18, 1972.

Bar Facilities — 6 p.m.
Banquet — 7 p.m.
Ball — 9:00 - Midnight

Tickets — \$25.00 per Couple
Students — \$15.00 per Couple
Special — \$7.50 per Couple for the Ball Only

STUDENT

Валентин Мороз

Замість останнього слова

(УЦІС, Лондон) — В Україні широко поширений новий документ Валентина Мороза п. з. „Замість останнього слова“, що він його вніс у письмовій формі до рук суддів перед початком другого процесу над ним у 1970 році. Один примірник цього документу дістався на Захід. Від редакції надана наступна інформація:

„Валентин Мороз в час другого безправного процесу рішив його бойкотувати — мовчати, не відповідати, тому отсе письмо подав до рук суддів в письмовій формі це до початку процесу, що відбувся при закритих дверях.“ (Всі підкреслення — тут і в „Слові“ — як в оригіналі.)

Я не буду цитувати Кодексу і доводити свою невинність. Судять мене не за вину і ви це добре знаєте. Нас судять залежно від тієї ролі, яку ми граємо у небажаних вам процесах. Є люди, для арешту яких ви маєте більше формально-юридичних підстав, ніж для кожного арешту. Але вам вигідно, щоб люди ці були на волі, бо вони знижують токус українського відродження, пригальмовують його швидкість, звичайно не розуміючи цього. Цих людей ви ніколи не зачепите, навіть коли б вони випадково потрапили до вас, ви поставили б негайно їх звільнити. Ви прийшли до висновку, що В. Мороз підвищує температуру небажаних вам процесів на Україні, отже — краще відділити його від середовища ґратами. Що ж, це було б цілком логічно, якби не одне але...

Починаючи від 1965 року ви посадили за ґрати кілька десятків чоловік. Що це вам дало? Не буду говорити про тенденцію, зупинити її ще нікому не вдалося. Але чи вдалося вам ліквідувати хоча б її конкретно-матеріальні вияви? Чи ви зупинили, скажімо, потік неофіційної, позацизурної літератури, що вже має назву „Самвидав“? Ні! Це виявилось вам не під силу. „Самви-

дав“ росте, збагачується новими формами і жанрами, обростає новими авторами і читачами, а головне — він пустив коріння так широко і глибоко, що ніяке збільшення штатів донощиків, ніякі японські магнітофони не допоможуть. Ваші потуги до нічого не привели і те, що ви робите, можна було б назвати по-російському „мартишкин труд“. Але справа не в тім, що „мартишкин труд“ — це робота, від якої нікому не холодно й не душно, робота без результату. Про вашу роботу цього не скажеш — вона вже дала відчутний ефект, тільки ж ефект зовсім протилежний тому, якого ви чекали. Виявилось, що ви не залякали, а зацікавили. Ви хотіли загасити і замість цього долили масла у вогонь. Ніщо так не сприяло пожевланню громадського життя на Україні, як ваші репресії. Ніщо так не привернуло увагу людей до процесів українського відродження, як ваші суди. Прауду кажучи, саме ці процеси показали широкій публіці, що на Україні знову ожило громадське

життя. Ви хотіли сховати людей у мордовські ліси, а замість цього виставили на широчезну арену — і їх побачив цілий світ. Більшість активістів українського відродження стали активістами якраз в атмо-

сфері збудження, викликаного вашими репресіями. Словом, пройшло вже досить часу, щоб зрозуміти наразі: репресії шкодять перш за все вам. А ви все судите... Для чого? Для виконання плану? Для заспокоєння службової совісті? Щоб зігнати злість? Скоріше всього — по інер-



ці. Ви внесли в сучасний післясталінський етап українського відродження те, без чого він був ще незрозумілим і неопеченим: ви внесли елемент жертвості. Віра виникає тоді, коли з мученики. Їх дали нам ви.

Кожен раз, як тільки на українському горизонті з'являлось щось живе, ви кидали в нього камінцем. І кожний раз виявлялось, що то не камінець, а бумеранг. Він об'язково повертався і бив... по вас! Що ж

сталось? Чому репресії не дають звичайного ефекту? Чому випробувана зброя стала бумерангом? Змінюється час — от і вся відповідь. У Сталіна було додати води, щоб засити вогонь. Ви ж знаходитеся у зовсім іншій ситуації. Вам довелося жити в епоху, коли резерви вичерпалися. А якщо води мало — краще не дразнити нею вогню. Бо тоді ще краще горить — це знає кожна дитина. Ви взяли палку до рук, щоб розкидати вогнище, але замість того тільки підвружили його. На більше не вистачає сили, це значить, що суспільний організм, в якому ви живете, вступив у таку фазу розвитку, коли репресії вже дають зворотний ефект. І кожна нова репресія буде тепер новим бумерангом.

Посадили мене за ґрати 1-го червня (1970 р.), ви знову запустили бумеранг. Що буде далі — ви вже бачили. П'ять років тому мене посадили на лаву підсудних — і звідти вилетіла стріла. Потім мене посадили за колючий дріт у Мордовію — і звідти вилетіла бомба. Тепер ви знову, нічого не зрозумівши і нічого не навчившись, починаєте все спочатку. Тільки цього разу для бумерангу буде набагато потужнішою. В 1965 році Мороз був нікому невідомим викладачем історії. Тепер його знають...

І ось Мороз сьорбає тюремну кашку. Скажемо по-єврейськи: „Чо ви с етого будете їмать?“ Єдиний Мороз, з якого ви дійсно мали б величезну користь, це покірний Мороз, що написав покаєнну заяву. Це був би дійсно приголомшливий удар для всього свідомого українства. Але такого Мороза ви не дочекаєтесь ніколи. Якщо ж ви розраховуєте, посадивши мене за ґрати, створити якийсь вакуум в

українському відродженні, то це не серйозно. Зрозумійте наразі: вакууму більше не буде. Густота духовного потенціалу України вже достатня для того, щоб заповнити будь-який вакуум і дати нових громадських діячів, як замість тих, що сидять у в'язниці, так і замість тих, що відійшли від громадської діяльності. 60-ті роки принесли значне пожевлання в українське життя, 70-ті роки теж не будуть вакуумом в українській історії. Ті золоті часи, коли все життя було втиснуте в офіційні рамки, минули безповоротно. Вже існує культура поза Міністерством культури і філософія поза журналом „Вопросы философии“. Тепер вже постійно існуватимуть явища, що

з'являлись на світ без офіційного дозволу і з кожним роком потік цей буде збільшуватись.

Мене судитиме суд за закритими дверима. І все одно він стане бумерангом, навіть коли мене ніхто не почує, навіть коли я буду мовчати в ізоляційній від світу камері Володимирської в'язниці. Буває мовчання голосніше від крику. І навіть знищивши мене, ви не зможете його заглушити. Знищити легко, але чи задумувались ви над такою істотною: Знищити часом важать більше, ніж живі. Знищень стають прапором. Знищені — це кремені, з якого будуються кришталеві фортеці в чистих душах.

Знаю добре, що ви скажете на це: Мороз забата-ло про себе думає. Але тут не йдеться про Мороза. Йдеться про кожну чесну людину на мому місці. Зрештою, там, де люди готові до повільної смерті у Володимирській в'язниці і

**Закінчення:
сторінка 6**

Ігор Калинець

ТРЕНОС	Страсть третя	можеш спокійно метушиться	Страсть сьома	погами шматують, полотно
над не однією хресною дорогою	і ті два що були розп'яті побіч Христа	адже нині земля не стріслася	мовчати наш отец а мати до кривавих слідів припадає	що стає стягом
Страсть перша	нині маскують високу Голгофу гаулячим кодексів	а гетьраву що з неба почесом дочасно тобі на голову осіла	причинив мамо Бога що стала й нашою матір'ю за нами	Страсть дев'ята
на Голгофі провінційного суду Твоє світле лице частоколом гвинтінок відгородили	у прокурорській тозі ховають розбійницький ніж	ти й так не добачаєш	дай і нам горючтис негаснучих слідів	відверни лише своє від них
самотньо двигався хрест	Страсть четверта	Страсть шоста	Страсть восьма	але зроби так щоб у мой душі стояв завжди образ твоєї гермою увінчаної голови
таке ще немічне наше плече	святий хрест	без зради	попад натовном металом поивнялись страдальні руки дружини	Страсть десята
Страсть друга	недаремно плече з нього космачька жинячи	проданий нашим безсилям	Вероніко ти хотіла обтерти окривлене лице	з любові до нас прийняв на себе таку страшну кару
змикнула Україна з ока потаємну сльозинку	о він ще послужать замість іконостасу у нашому обкраденому храмі	не один пообратим ще нині відсахнеться навіть без сребренників		щоб спасти нас від найбільшого гріха
Господи аж світяться прозорий гурток плакальниць	Страсть п'ята	можливо пошкодуєш тоді за бліблійним юдою		байдужості до вогню
але вигодували пеняка власним ширмом легіон шпиків	юридичний зародок			

Eastern Presidents' Conference

During a three-day Eastern Presidents' Conference, held in Toronto December 27th, 28th and 29th, several urgent issues of action were discussed. The 20 registered members and some 15 to 20 other participants discussed broadly topics under the following headings: Multiculturalism, the summer fieldwork project, the summer immersion course-Contact '72, individual club interests and concerns, the establishment of Ukrainian day-care centers, Cable TV programming, and Ukrainian language courses at the secondary school level.

The first day was devoted almost totally to in-depth discussion of the Multicultural concept and its implications after the official recognition of the same. There was a consensus that the practical reality has now caught up with our analysis and we must further develop our understanding if we are to make

concrete demands and productively use the resources available. It was essential to begin the conference with a discussion such as this, as it would be fundamental to the work in a multicultural framework when viewing future club activities.

The following day and evening sessions were basically devoted to two things: presentation of two working papers on the national projects — fieldwork and Contact '72, and practical sessions regarding critical issues which are going to now be immediately undertaken by the clubs.

Under the former, the conceptual as well as the practical aspects were discussed and the motions initially presented at the SUSK Congress on the topics were further reinforced by the club executives and representatives.

There was a presentation given by Mike Wawryshyn, the Chairman of the Educational Council of the

Ukrainian Canadian Committee in Toronto, who is intensively working with high school students to have Ukrainian introduced into the secondary schools. The presentation included a background of previous attempts and current methodology which can now be used with the issuing of the Ontario statement on minority language teaching. The discussion with club members resulted in a commitment from every club present (Thunder Bay, Hamilton, Windsor, Kingston, Ottawa, and Toronto) already operating such a program to research their area and begin action with their local Ukrainian-Canadian Committee on possibly the most vital and crucial issue facing us today.

Undertakings other than the language issue, included commitments to look into possibilities and the necessity for local day-care centers and community Ukrainian

programming on Cable TV stations. Some of the clubs have already begun work in these areas and can act as resources of information in the future, for clubs only to begin the same work in a different local.

One of the most important outcomes of the Conference was the acceptance of a proposition to form an International Commission; this is discussed in more detail and depth in a separate article elsewhere in this issue. A Committee such as this adds the necessary dimension that the Union needs — the realization of the position and struggle of other Ukrainians in the world. As well as having worthwhile practical results, the work of the Commission and the information gathered through it should widen the perspective of every individual in the Union, if he takes the initiative himself to find out or help with its work.

The newspaper STUDENT was discussed by those interested at one

of the evening sessions and various decisions were taken regarding advertising, subscriptions, distribution, and the problems of lack of articles and students unwilling to write to their own newspaper.

In general, evidently, the Eastern Conference served a very good purpose although a final evaluation can only result on the basis of activity following it. It brought students together who prior to this had perhaps only communicated through bulletins, as well as allowing for them a forum for discussion of issues, old and new.

The preceding was a short précis, which does not dwell in detail on any one aspect of the three days. Participants of the Conference are encouraged to write more lengthy articles to STUDENT regarding discussion of more depth, as well as reports of how the undertaken projects are developing.

Day Care

As a result of the Presidents' Conference held in Toronto this past December, several new dimensions have been added to the activities of Ukrainian Students' Clubs in Eastern Canada. Of a very crucial nature is the issue of helping to establish well-equipped Ukrainian day-care centers to meet the needs of all segments of our Ukrainian communities. It was resolved that serious consideration should be given to married students with children, young Ukrainian women who can no longer pursue their careers or studies because of the lack of a first-rate Ukrainian day-care center to which they could send their children, and Ukrainian women of the lower income bracket who cannot afford the exorbitant

fees of private day care.

It is unfortunate that up until now very little or no communal effort has been made in this direction. In Toronto there are five Ukrainian nurseries of diverse size and character, only one of which may be classified as a day-care center in the sense that children may be left there during the entire work day for five days a week. The others vary in that some operate on a one day per week basis, others on the basis of a few hours twice a week and so on. In all of these instances, however, the "sadochky" were organized primarily by individuals who either experienced the need for one due to financial reasons or 2) wanted to provide their children with an environment where they could freely

use and develop their knowledge of the Ukrainian language. All due recognition and credit should be given to these individuals, but once again we revert to the fact that the lack of communal participation and support has resulted in a situation where few Ukrainians are aware of the existence of these nurseries and are consequently forced to take their children to the homes of private babysitters where the children will often lack the kind of stimulation and development that a day-care center would provide. At the same time one or two of the centers still perpetuate a strong attitude of exclusivity, while in other areas such as the Long Branch working-class district there are virtually no Ukrainian nurseries. A further result is that today the nurseries we do have, are usually located in dark, drafty church basements, and in no other way meet the standard regulations for a day-care center.

For all the above reasons, it is evident that 1) there are not enough day-care centers to meet the needs of our Ukrainian communities and 2) that the condition of the existing ones urgently requires amelioration. When the Ontario Provincial government recently announced the availability of 10 million dollars to Municipalities for the construction of day-care centers, the Toronto branch of the Ukrainian Canadian Welfare Services took the initiative to apply for these grants. Their request for representation by the Metro Department of Social Services to the Provincial government was met with a negative reply. However, in more recent negotiations with the Toronto Department of Welfare, the UCWS has succeeded in obtaining allocations that will cover the operating costs of at least two Ukrainian nurseries.

In view of the fact that for four

years now the day-care center of Toronto's Greek community has been subsidized by the Provincial government and that 95 per cent of its children speak Greek while only 5 per cent speak English, we firmly believe that the collective efforts of both students and the people of our Ukrainian communities can be coordinated in conducting very necessary research needed to determine and locate our communities' needs and finally in organizing day-care centers that will not only be equipped with modern facilities but will also provide programs to stimulate the cultural development of our preschool children.

Vorianna

International Commission

As we embark upon projects of national and local significance in Canada, such as the fieldworker project and the language issue in various provinces, let us examine our position on a world scale in the context of one Ukrainian organization among many, and one community among the few.

Ukrainians in Canada occupy a privileged position in terms of their strength and community resources, in contrast to other Ukrainian communities throughout the world, such as in South America and Europe. SUSK, in spite of its relative inexperience and other obvious shortcomings, is nevertheless recognized as one of the strongest action-oriented and mobilizing groups in Canada. It is therefore the responsibility of SUSK to gain an international perspective of the situation, mobilize resources for the less privileged Ukrainian communities in other countries, and provide them with whatever human assistance we can.

Today, our people in Argentina, Brazil, Australia, Eastern and Western Europe, are experiencing crises of leadership, lack of finances, communication and literature resources and assimilation. These ran rampant among our pioneer settlements in Canada not long ago. We are beginning to find out place here slowly; other communities elsewhere are young (e.g. Australia — 25 years old) and struggling.

It cannot be denied that in the past, efforts have been made to help our fellows. The recent Yugoslav earthquakes prompted organizations to send help to the victims, but of course, that was a crisis and then a need is more strongly felt. Now that the "crisis is

over" (or so they say) money is spent on other activities of "international significance" such as the opening of the Shevchenko Monument in Argentina a few weeks ago, where hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent on such important foreign aid projects as tours to Argentine villages, buying indigenous works of art and fur coats, great eating and self-titillation at big and beautiful banquets.

We want to change the method and substance of Ukrainian international aid programs from sporadic misdirected efforts based on incorrect information on community needs in other countries, to well-prepared and effective programs. For this purpose an International Commission was established at the Eastern Presidents' Conference held in Toronto (Dec. 27-29th, 1971). The International Commission is now a constitutionally official body of the National Executive and will have the following functions:

- establish contact with communities throughout the world preferably through other student organizations (e.g. SUSTE),
- analyse the communities' needs with the help of local people, in terms of information, required material and financial resources,
- mobilize financial and material resources in Canada for aid projects,
- Implementation of projects.

the various regions throughout the world where Ukrainians are concentrated. Presently we have general knowledge on Australia, Yugoslavia and Western Europe. South America is a priority that will

probably require a full-time fieldworker next summer, predominantly to travel and collect information. In Eastern Europe the severely bad reputation of Ukrainians can only be cured by sensible and constructive projects and some educational endeavours with our local landed aristocracy.

STUDENT and the National Executive bulletin will carry further articles on the Commission's work. Club Executives should appoint people to set up local committees to raise funds for these projects. For initial information and suggestions write:

Miss M. Kucharyshyn
International Commission
S.U.S.K.
67 Harbord Street
Toronto, Ontario.

People should volunteer through their club to act as official SUSK correspondents. Materials needed — Ukrainian typewriters, gestetner machines, literature, money.

Австралія

19-го грудня 1971 року мала я несподівану приємність поїхати на два тижні до Австралії — беззубця мандрівки! Головною причиною моєї подорожі було святкування 60-ліття існування Північної Австралії. З цієї нагоди Північ в Австралії зорганізував Ювілейний Північний З'їзд в Аделаїді. В другому пізньому моєму подорожі я брала активну участь, на цьому з'їзді як одна з вісім делегатів з Канади, я брала участь в старію-північному габарі. Мені було найбільш цікаво під час відр. де ми обмінювалися різними дум-

ками і дискутували про блем української справи в Австралії та в Канаді. Зі захопленням читали вони останнє число "Студент" і слухали про студентське життя в Канаді, яке їм відоме. Під час могого візду я мала нагоду зустрітись з багатьма українцями і пізнати їхнє суспільне життя. Мене зворушив брак інформації, як також, книжок і літ.

При поверненні, я дізналася про ново-створену "Інтернаціональну Комісію" при СУСКу. Я пропоную щоб ця комісія глибоко розглянула справу можливостей суспільних організаторів в Австралії, та якнайскорше навіязала контакти з подібними українськими австралійськими студентами. Ми, як українські студенти повинні виробити більше розуміння та знання про українців в інших країнах, а такий обмін думок дасть їм нагоду краще пізнати нас.

Зірка Радь

Якщо хтось має зацікавлення працювати на Інтернаціональній Комісії і займатися справами і контактами з Австралією, прошу написати до Зірки Радь на адресу газети "Студент".

In Canada, we Ukrainians are fortunate in that the government is beginning to support the cultural and linguistic development of our ethno-cultural group. But as we are milking our system we must not forget our fellow-Ukrainians in other countries who don't have the same opportunities. We must start thinking about Western Europe where the assimilatory forces are much stronger. There are small organized student groups in the following countries: Britain, France, Germany, Austria and Belgium; a total sum of 200 students (that is the total of students at the Toronto club alone). A co-ordinating body, like our SUSK, exists there also, under the name of SUSTE. Their last Congress was held in April 1971 in Rome. The previous Congress before this one was in 1965. Five long years. Most students had either forgotten that SUSTE existed, or had never even heard of it.

Forty-five students attended this Congress, not including visitors, and the students attending the Ukrainian seminars in Rome. Fundamental problems were discussed, such as lack of communication and information. There is nothing physical tying these students together — no newspaper, no bulletins. One student newspaper comes out in England, the "Meteor", but it rarely finds its way across the Channel. The two main newspapers on the Continent: "Ukrainske Slovo" and "Schlach Peremohy" are highly sophisticated party-political newspapers, which are either not interesting to the students, or else the language is too complicated. SUSTE must begin to receive a steady flow of information from SUSK. Example: last year's Moroz action. The appeal from CESUS to Ukrainian students to organize actions on a specific day

to be continued p.8

Fieldwork!

Soviet Arrest of 1121 in Ukraine



The beginning of the New Year, of 1972, brought a renewal of repression in Ukraine. On Wednesday, January 12, four Ukrainians were arrested in Kiev, and on the following day, seven were arrested in Lviv. This news reached North America by Friday, January 14. By the following Friday, the number of arrested had risen to twenty-one.

Among those presently charged with anti-state activities are:

IVAN DZIUDA, a prominent literary critic of the younger generation, research graduate of the Institute of Literature of the AS Ukr.S.S.R. and a Writers' Union member. Author of "Internationalism or Russification", which describes Soviet departure from Leninist nationalities policy, and Stalinist practices in contemporary Soviet Union.

IVAN SVITLICHNY, a literary critic, expelled from the Institute of Philosophy of the AS Ukr.S.S.R. in 1964, dismissed from the editorial board of 'Naukova Dumka' publishing house in 1965; spent 8 months in prison.

VYACHESLAV CHOMOVIL, author of "Chomovil Papers", a collection of documents protesting the un-constitutionality of arrests; literary critic, spent 2 years in jail in 1965-66.

YEVHEN SVERSTYUK, a literary critic and writer; dismissed from job at the Institute of Psychology in 1965, for making a "heretical" speech in front of Volhynia region teachers.

The arrests follow Ukrainian Party leader Shelest's speech urging Party workers not to weaken their ideological vigilance in the face of a possible detente with the West. He also called for a tightening on dissident literature.

The arrests also confirmed Moroz's prediction in his 'Zavnist Ostannoho Slova', that the vacuum created by the arrests would be filled by other dissidents. Moroz is presently serving a 14 year term in prison, for writing several polemics, critical of the Soviet system. The above-mentioned work was written with the intention of conveying his message to Ukrainians instead of speaking at the close of his trial.

While we in Canada find ourselves in a rather ineffectual position to act in reprisal to these brutal persecutions, we must nevertheless make our protest heard and felt. THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' UNION CALLS UPON ITS MEMBERS, THE UKRAINIAN CANADIAN COMMITTEE, AND THE WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS TO INITIATE PROTEST ACTIONS AT THE LOCAL, NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEVELS.

Time to Act

В. Симоненко

НЕКРОЛОГ КУКУРУДЗЯНОМУ КАЧАНОВІ,
ЩО ЗГИНУВ НА ЗАГОТОВНКТІ

Не чути голосів. Іржавіють оркестри.
Оратори втомилась від кричань.
В труні лежить не вождь і не маестро.
А просто кукурудзяний качан.

Труна із тупості, бездарністю обита.
Бредуть за нею втомлені думки:
Кого оплакувати? Кого мені судити?
Кому із серця відбивати замки?

Кого трісти за петельки і душу?
Кого клясти за цю безглузду смерть?
Помер качан, і я кричати мушу.
Налитий смутком і злобою вицвіть.

Качане мій, за що тебе згноїли?
Качане мій, кому ти завинив?
Качане мій, дягли в твою могилу
І людська праця, і щедроти нив.

Безсонні ночі, неспокійні днини,
Мозолі, піт, димок гарячий шем
Дягли з тобою поруч в домовину
І догнівають під густим дощем...

Прокляття вам, лукаві лиходії,
В яких би ви не підлялися чинам!
Ви убиваєте людські надії
Так само, як убивли качана.

We have learned, from a newspaper published in Ukraine, 'Radyenska Ukraina', that a young Ukrainian student from Belgium, Yaroslav Dobosh, was arrested in Ukraine during a tourist visit early in the New Year. The article stated that he was arrested for possessing anti-Soviet propaganda.



СТУДЕНТ

ЗЛОМИЛИ:
оселедець
текля
ворянина
магда
дуба
андроната
макс
ушка
сірий
Іжак
чомп
мірко



"HORSE LAUGH" cont'd

Remember that besides the forces of the Ukrainian National Republic part of the Ukrainian Left — the so-called Borot'bists and Independents — supported the political platform of separation from Russia and the formation of an independent state. Well, you guessed it! Eventually most of them were shot alongside the "petlurivisti." They were liquidated, believe it or not, for being... "Trotskyists" ahead of time! (and ahead of Trotsky too!). But... Leo "failed" to understand them:

"7. The Borot'bists, under the guise of the fight for Ukrainian independence which has found its expression in the Soviet Ukrainian Republic (the Borot'bists wanted it independent), carry on disruptive work directed against the necessary coordination and unification of the administrative bodies serving the joint interest of both countries (Ukraine and Russia). In so doing, they promote administrative chaos and threaten to disrupt all the work done towards the economic construction of the Ukraine and Russia.

8. The work of the Borot'bists in the military sphere is, however, especially heinous. Under the guise of struggling for an independent Ukrainian Army (this is what the Russians were afraid of), they give support to the partisan bands, play them off against the Red Army in their pronouncements, and in their deeds, and so aggravate the elements of bandit chaos which has brought the Ukraine to the verge of disaster (as far as the Russians were concerned).

9. The Borot'bist Party banner in fact now constitutes a refurbished banner for all treacherous, counter-revolutionary elements and groups cringing to imperialism (?) that constituted the prop of Petlura's forces, of the nezalezhniki (this is what hurt Russians most), and other anti-Soviet parties that live... etc.

10. An end must be put to the cheap political manoeuvres of the Borot'bists, which hide a serious threat to the political development of Ukraine (threat of becoming independent...?).

The Borot'bists were purged NOT because of their ideology (after all, they were also too hung up on all those mind-blowing slogans and niceties) but because they showed the Russians (and their international henchmen like Leo) that they possessed a dangerous level of national consciousness: imagine! for all things, they dared to call at one point for an independent Ukraine!

Why didn't Leo write his 1939 article in 1918, and "give" the Borot'bists (oh! Naivete!) and other Ukrainian left revolutionaries a "chance" to set up their independent so-called Soviet Ukrainian Republic which he so "staunchly" defended... 20 years later?! Forgive my cynicism, but to me Trotsky's 1939 article is a fine example of rabid political jealousy of a power hungry failure, and, of course, of ideological immorality. Trotsky would have never guessed that his PUN would send future Ukrainian "political analysts" on all sorts of political trips...

Remember, that there was also the Kronstadt Revolt in March 1921. It was staged against the Bolsheviks by some 14,000 sailors of Kronstadt base on the Baltic, and the people of the area. Their revolutionary appeal sounded like this:

"To all! To all! To all! Comrades, workers, Red soldiers and sailors. Here in Kronstadt, we know how you suffer — you, your wives and your children — under the yoke of the Communist dictatorship.

We have overthrown the Communist Soviet.

Our cause is just. We are for the power of the Soviets and not that of parties. We are for free election of the representatives of the working masses.

The false Soviets, monopolized and manipulated by the Communist Party, have always been deaf to our needs and requests; the only response that we have received has been the assassin's bullet.

Long live the revolutionary proletariat of the cities and the fields!"

Surely you have heard of the

Kronstadt sailors. They were in the vanguard of the revolution that toppled Czarist Russia. Trotsky extolled them as "the pride and glory of the Revolution." But in 1921 when the sailors realized that they were merely cheated out of rivers of their own blood spilt fighting for national and social liberation they rose up again. And here is Trotsky's ultimatum to... "the pride and glory of the Revolution":

"The Workers' and Peasants' Government has decreed that Kronstadt and the rebelling ships shall submit immediately to the authority of the Soviet Republic... I order, in consequence, that all who have raised their hands against the Socialist Fatherland lay down their arms without delay.

**HORSE LAUGH**

I simultaneously give the order to prepare for the suppression of the rebellion and the subjugation of the sailors by armed force."

This ultimatum was followed by an order containing the historic threat: "I will shoot you like partridges."

You may also want to know that the head of the Provisional Revolutionary Committee at Kronstadt was a Ukrainian, and the majority of the rebelling sailors were also UKRAINIANS. Here is N. Bukharin's explanation of the revolt

which to my mind warrants a great deal of attention from EVERYBODY:

"The documents which have since been brought to light show clearly that the affair was instigated by purely white guard centres, but at the same time the Kronstadt mutiny was a petty bourgeois rebellion against the Socialist system of economic compulsion. Sailors are mostly sons of peasants, especially Ukrainian peasants. Ukraine is more petty bourgeois (!?) than Central Russia... They are against Czarism but have little sympathy for Communism. The sailors were home on leave and there became strongly infected with peasant ideas."

(S' speech at III Congress of the 3rd International July 8, 1921)

Think about it!

So much for Kronstadt.

Finally, consider this tidbit from Trotsky:

"... Our Soviet work in those regions of the Urals and of Siberia that have been cleared most thoroughly by the put on a proper footing. The best elements of the Ukrainian Party, who have at present withdrawn from Soviet work for reasons outside their control, must be sent there. If they lost Ukraine, let them conquer Siberia for the Soviet Republic!" (So, what else is new...?)

How cynical can one get? One must admit that he had a nerve to propose a thing like that. On the other hand, why not? There were lots of KHOKHLY who would get a thrill from licking somebody else's boots! Believe me, there is plenty of stuff about Lenin-Trotsky-Stalin and Co., to flush anybody's mind. It's just a matter of taking a good, long and hard look at it.

Anyone who is familiar with the basics of the history of the 1917-1921 Russian and Ukrainian revolutions (plural) and the later developments, cannot but notice two things: one, the tremendous revolutionary energy displayed by the Ukrainian people in quest for their national, social and economic liberation; and, secondly, the instinctive fear and

hostility toward the Ukrainian upheaval on part of the Russians — regardless of ideology. This is why the Ukrainian revolutionized masses had to be repeatedly put down by Trotsky's Red Army; the "Red Terror"; the "Iron Broom"; the Cheka, the famine of 1919-23 (almost 3,000,000 workers and peasants affected in the southern Ukrainian provinces and in Donbas. In the critical moments foodstuffs were being shipped out to Russia, and foreign relief refused, due to clear cut political motivations), the deportations and execution during collectivization, the Stalin made famine of 1932-34 (about 6,000,000 dead), the terror of the 30's, and so on. Furthermore, not only all vestiges of Ukrainian independence (as embodied in the Ukrainian Republic) were destroyed, but between 1920-1939 most of the Ukrainian revolutionary cadres — regardless of their ideological background and/or aspirations — were annihilated. I am not going to waste paper explaining why. Any Ukrainian should be able to answer this one from historical experience. To recapitulate: from 1921 to 1939 — in peace time — Ukraine suffered through violent death the loss of one quarter of her population (about 10 million). "Enemies of the people" (....). I don't know about you, but I hold responsible for this mess, such meanderhaloids as Vladimir Ulianov (alias Lenin), Leon Bronstein (alias Trotsky) and Joseph Dzugashvili (alias Stalin), and all (regardless of nationality) their bloody hirelings!

In regard to the reprinting of the Trotsky article in STUDENT rather out of context and without any (never mind appropriate...) editorial comment about its author, I will permit myself to describe this act as also smelling of (and I quote) "accepting, uncritically (italics added) — like dogs — the bone that has been tossed to us by a hypocritical master." I think it is inconsistent to print the names of such men as Josyp Cardinal Slipiy (who spent 18 years in a Russian

continued on p. 8

МОРОЗ
(continued from pg. 3)

від якогонебудь хитрого хіміката — там немає місця для дрібного честолюбства.

Національне відродження — найтілбишній з усіх духовних процесів. Це явище багатопланове і багатопланове, воно може виявитись у тисячах форм. Ніхто не зможе всіх їх передбачити і сплести настільки широкий невід, щоб охопити процес в усій його ширині. Ваші греблі міцні і надійні, але вони стоять на сухому. Весняні води прямо оминувли їх і знайшли нові русла. Ваші слабавми закриті. Але вони нікого не сплять, бо траси давно пролягли збоку від них. Національне відродження є процесом, що має практично необмежені ресурси, бо національ не почуття живе в душі кожної людини, навіть тієї, яка, здавалось б, давно умерла духово. Це виявилось, скажімо, під час дебатів у Спільні письменники, коли проти виключення І. Дзюби голосували люди, від яких цього ніхто не сподівався.

Ви вперто повторюєте, що люди, які сидять за ґратами — це просто кримінальні злочинці. Ви заплющуете очі і робите вигляд, що проблеми нема. Ну, добре, на цій немудрій позиції вдається протаранити ще років з десять. А далі? Адже нові процеси на Україні і в усьому Союзі тільки починаються. Українське відродження ще не стало масовим. Але не гірше себе, що так буде завжди. В епоху суцільної письменності, коли на Україні є 300 тисяч студентів, а радіо мають усі, в таку епоху кожне суспільно-вагове стає масовим. Невже ви не розумієте, що скоро вам придеться мати справу з масовими соціальними тенденціями? Нові процеси лише починаються, а ваші репресійні заходи вже перестали бути ефективними. Що ж буде далі?

Є тільки один вихід: відмовитись від застарілої політики репресій і знайти нові форми співжиття з новими явищами, які вже утвердилися в нашій дійсності безповоротно. Така реальність. Вона з'явилася, не питаючи дозволу, і при-

несла нові речі, що вимагають нового підходу. Для людей, покликаних захищати державні справи, є над чим думати. А ви все забавляєтесь пускаячи бумеранг...

Буде суд. Що ж, будемо битися. Саме тепер, коли один написав покаянну заяву, другий перекавалфікувався на перекалдача — саме тепер потрібно, щоб хтось показав приклад твердості і одним махом змінив це гнітюче враження, яке створилося після виходу деяких людей від активної громадянської діяльності. Випало мені... Тяжка це місія. Сидіти за ґратами нікому не легко. Але ж не поважати себе — це важче. І тому будемо битися!

Буде суд, і знову все почнеться спочатку: нові протести і підписи, новий матеріал для преси і радіо всього світу. Разів у десять зросте інтерес до того, що написав Мороз. Словом, буде підлита нова порція масла у вогонь, який ви хочете загасити.

Це і є підрина діяльність. Але моє вини тут не шукайте — не я посадив Мороза за ґрати, не я запустив бумеранг.

Ethnic Weapons

A Swedish doctor has predicted that military powers around the globe will soon perfect "ethnic weapons" — chemical and biological agents which will attack only certain races.

According to Dr. Carl A. Larson, head of the Department of Human Genetics at the University of Lund in Sweden, scientists have already perfected "selective inhibitors"; these inhibitors will block functions of specific enzymes, but will leave other enzymes unaffected.

Genetic variations between races are usually reflected by the dif-

ference between vital enzymes or by the absence of certain enzymes: Scientists have found that people of different races have minor gene differences which produce different enzymes.

Dr. Larson predicts that chemical compounds can be produced — and possibly are being produced — which would affect or stop enzymes peculiar to one race without affecting peoples of other races. Dr. Larson said such weapons are "forthcoming."

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Підходить чоловік до дівки, яка перенесла матеріал до Самовидава. Просить її, щоб вона перенесла "Вісник і Мир" Толстова. Вона йому відповіла, що ту книжку можна легко купити в кожній книгарні, та рідко перенесіть книжку взав би місяці. Чоловік розчарований на це відповів: "Шкода; я хотів щоб мій син цю книжку переніс". Він читає тільки Самовидава.

The High Cost of Dissent in the Soviet Union

Chicago Tribune, Sunday, August 22, 1971

By Frank Starr

Mr. Starr is chief of The Tribune's Washington Bureau.

WASHINGTON — Alla Horska was murdered in unclear circumstances on Nov. 28, 1970, in the home of her father in law in the town of Vasykiv, about 50 miles southwest of Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine.

The next day, the body of her father in law was found on the railroad tracks near the town of Fastov, about halfway between Kiev and Vasykiv. His head had been cut off.

Alla Horska was well known in the Ukraine as an artist and civic activist.

How Story Reached West

Her story, unreported in the government controlled press, has reached the West in a copy of an underground journal published clandestinely in the Ukraine, under the title Ukrainsky Vysnyk, or the Ukrainian Herald.

According to the Herald, Alla Oleksandrivna Horskak, 41, was born in Kiev and graduated from the Kiev Art Institute. In the early 1960s she became actively involved in the growing Ukrainian nationalist movement among the young intelligentsia in Kiev.

"She started using Ukrainian (instead of Russian) as her regular language, and in 1962 helped organize the well-known club of Creative Youth (disbanded in 1964). She helped organize literary and art evenings, distribution of manuscript literature, and collection of mutual aid funds," the Herald reported.

"In 1964, Alla Horskak worked with three other artists, Lyudmyla Semykina, Panas Zalyvakha, and Halyna Sevrak, to create a stained glass window for the vestibule of Kiev University commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko. The window depicted an angry Shevchenko embracing a woman symbolizing the Ukraine with one arm and with the other holding an upraised book. The composition included the words: 'I will glorify these petty, mute slaves and place the word on guard beside them.' The stained glass window was brutally destroyed and Alla Horskak and Lyudmyla Semykina were expelled from the Ukrainian Artists' Union."

The Herald carried an excerpt from the record of the artists' union meeting at which they were expelled during which the chairman of the union's regional bureau and other members labeled the window "trash" and "ideologically harmful."

In August and September, 1965, large numbers of the intelligentsia were rounded up in the Ukraine, including several friends of Alla Horskak. She was called by the KGB (secret police) to testify, refused, and subsequently wrote the KGB a letter protesting their methods and demanding correction of the investigation record.

Forced to Repeat Testimony

The letter recounted how the police read her testimony from her imprisoned friend, Yaroslav Hevrych, to the effect that she had given him a disapproved book to read. When she denied that, a confrontation with Hevrych was arranged.

"In an obviously forced manner and fighting against himself," Alla wrote the KGB, "Hevrych repeated his testimony, which I again denied. We were permitted to ask each other questions. Seeing that Hevrych looked very bad, I asked him about his health. But the investigating officer forbade him to answer. . . . Then asked . . . Hevrych what forced him to give false testimony against me. He answered in exactly these words: 'In 105 days they will teach you to lie.' This phrase can have only one meaning. Hevrych admitted

that some sort of psychological or physical pressure had been applied which forced him to give false testimony.

"In spite of my insistence, this phrase was not entered into the record of the confrontation, and Hevrych was forced to repeat the fabricated testimony," Alla's letter to the KGB said. "During the interrogation and after the confrontation, the investigation officers very correctly and politely insulted me and threatened me with imprisonment."

"Can people be thrown behind bars in our Soviet land where the constitution guarantees freedom of conscience, speech, print, assembly, etc., merely for reading a book, even if the book's ideology is alien to us?" her letter asked.

In November, 1967, she attended the trial in Lvov of a young Ukrainian journalist, Vyacheslav Chornovil, who was imprisoned for recording arrests of young Ukrainians who read illegal literature. She later wrote protests against that trial and, in 1968, joined a large number of Kiev residents who protested official violation of civil rights. Because she was one of three of those signers who refused to recant, she was again expelled from the artists' union to which she had been readmitted.

In 1970, another friend of hers, Valentin Moroz, a young historian, was sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment and exile for a description of Soviet prison camps, entitled "Report from the Beria Reserve."

Alla was summoned again to testify against Moroz, whose position she had supported. She refused to testify and mocked the KGB investigating officer, Baranov, by calling him "Comrade Baran," which in Ukrainian means "sheep."

On Nov. 28 she was found dead in the cellar of her father in law's house. The Herald does not report on the manner of her death and offers no conclusion about the event, reporting instead that "at least three versions are currently circulating in the Ukrainian community among people who are familiar with the circumstances of this tragic event."

"Many feel it was done by the father in law, an old man whose wife died a year ago and who as a result became insane. Having regained sanity, he realized what he had done and committed suicide."

"However, there are also many people who consider this version unconvincing. They recall Alla's physical strength and the weakness of the nearly 70-year-old man. They draw attention to how cleverly and accurately the traces of the murder in the house were hidden: The body was dragged into the cellar, the traces of blood were carefully cleaned off and covered with rugs, the wooden shutters in the house were locked."

"Some are made suspicious by the behavior of the militia, who for a whole week could not identify the body of the man found on the tracks, although some say the man's passport was in his pocket."

"When Alla's friends, N. Svitlychna and Yevhen Sverstyuk, worried by her long absence, came to Vasykiv and demanded that the police open the house of old Zaretsky, the police agreed to do it extremely unwillingly, then checked the building very superficially and said they saw nothing suspicious. The porch cellar, where the body was found, was opened by the militia only on the insistence of N. Svitlychna. Some people believe the investigator who conducted the case was in contact with the KGB because he asked Sverstyuk, of whom he had never heard, how his . . . es had found their way abroad, and made such ironic comments as: 'How is it you couldn't protect your Alla'."



"Prophet" — mosaic.

A segment of the monumental stained-glass window for the main hall of Kyiv University by Ukrainian artists Panas Zalyvakha, Alla Horskak and Lyudmyla Semykina which was destroyed April, 1964

"The investigation quickly assumed an incriminatory bias against N. Svitlychna, Sverstyuk and Alla's husband, artist Victor Zaretsky, who was held there by police for several days."

"Taking these facts into consideration and recalling the secret political murders of earlier times, some people think this might have been a political murder of a publicly active person to intimidate others."

"The third group rejects the possibility of a direct political murder in this day and age, but admits the possibility that a psychologically unstable old man at her funeral, Oleksander may have been instigated to the act because of previous family misunderstandings," the Herald says.

Alla's funeral was scheduled for Friday, Dec. 4, and people gathered from several cities to attend when unexpectedly it was postponed to Monday, Dec. 7.

Prohibit Opening of Casket

"None of Alla's friends were allowed near the body; opening the casket was prohibited. Permission was refused to carry Alla's closed coffin into the house or even into the artist's studio," the Herald reported.

Altho the coffin was quickly transported to the suburban cemetery, from 150 to 200 people gathered there and prevented the artists' union official from quickly ending the ceremony after his own short speech. Several of her friends delivered poems and eulogies.

Elsewhere in the chronicles of the Herald are to be found what amounts to an epilog to Alla Horskak's story.

For the eulogy he delivered at her funeral, Oleksander Serhiyenko, a drafting and instructor at Kiev School No. 97, was fired. Poet Ivan Hel likewise received a reprimand at his job.



Alla Horskak
MURDERED

ЦЕНТРАЛЬНИЙ СОЮЗ УКРАЇНСЬКОГО СТУДЕНТСТВА ЗАКЛИК: АКЦІЯ ОБОРОНИ

Як знаємо з преси, 27-го листопада, 1971 р. Лондонська (Англія) поліція арештувала чотирьох молодих українських людей які брали участь у акції супроти союветського будинку в Лондоні (Англія) намагалися заперестувати проти російських переслідувань українського народу.

Арештованими зістали: Ірина Осицька, Богдан Левницький, Володимир Гуменик і Богдан Цяпріна. Всіх їх чекає суд. З огляду на те що їхня оборона вимагає певних фінансових засобів Центральний Союз Українського Студентства звертається до всієї української громади допомогти цій нашій молоді-студентці які не заважають пожертвувати своїм особистим добром в обороні прав на справедливості для України і її народу.

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AN ENGLISHMAN, Frenchman and a Russian were trying to define true happiness. "True happiness," said the Englishman, "is when you return home tired after work and find your slippers warming in front of the fire."

"You English have no romance," said the Frenchman. "True happiness is when you go on a business trip, find a pretty girl who entertains you, and then you part without regrets."

"You are both wrong," said the Russian. "True happiness is when you are at home in bed at four o'clock in the morning and there is a hammering at the door and there are the Secret Police, who say to you, 'Ivan Ivanovich, you are under arrest,' and you say, 'Sorry, Ivan Ivanovich lives next door.' " — "Observer" in Financial Times, London, England

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Horse Laugh (cont'd from pg.6)

camp) and Valentyn Moroz (presently in a Russian prison), and that of Leon Bronstein (picture included) in the SAME issue of STUDENT!

Quite a few people these days are hung up on "political analysis" — which is fine. But not many, it seems, realize that there is a Ukrainian revolutionary tradition and process, that we happen to have a history to be consulted and studied and learned from — which is bad. How on earth can anybody look for formulas of "salvation" for the Ukrainian people (and for himself for that matter) without even reading (never mind analysing) at least the material that is coming out from Ukraine today: Moroz, Dziuba, Sversliuk, Chornovil, Ukrainskyi Visnyk (five issues already), etc., etc. And how about the revolutionary currents and thought in Ukraine in the 20's, 30's, 40's...? How about the "shevchyshchyna"? How about the XIX century...? How about the "Haidamachyna"? How about the "Khmelnichyna"? All of this stuff is indispensable to set up a frame of reference for valid political analysis as far as Ukraine and her problems are concerned. Name dropping and sloganeering is not political analysis.

READER'S COMMENT

Much criticism was levelled against the last issue of STUDENT. As you read through this issue, you may notice that the people who criticize seldom have the courage to put their thoughts on paper, so that they, in turn, may be subjected to similar scrutiny.

We do not mean to imply that everything that was said was either illogical or of a biased nature. For example, we agree with others that the polemic by Leon Trotsky THE UKRAINIAN QUESTION should have been introduced with an explanation regarding its value and the reason for its inclusion. Such practice will be observed in future.

But those who embarked upon an emotional oration to the effect that "Trotsky was not Ukrainian," "Trotsky killed Ukrainians," "Trotsky's works are of no value to us" should reflect upon a few of the following questions: What are the sources of your knowledge? Do the lives of certain philosophers totally negate the value of their work? (Of course, one's life has some bearing on one's professed philosophy). Will you condemn all political perspectives other than those "approved" by predominant emigre political organizations? Or perhaps you will demonstrate for Dziuba in Ottawa but refuse to discuss the themes of INTERNATIONALISM OR RUSSIFICATION? Will you instead argue the point that Dziuba is perpetuating the original and only revolutionary tradition of the VYZVOLNI ZMAHANYA, and cloak his terms in socialist terminology in order to remain legitimate in the U.S.S.R.

This newspaper is put out by young, conscientious and critical students. They are prepared to learn from all sources of knowledge and refuse to be streamlined into narrow political observations that are without the backing of solid contemporary analysis. They also expect readers to be critical and informed, not just Ukrainian and emotional.

As it is with the Multicultural concept, our generation will take the best of the traditions of our fathers and incorporate them into our life. But the philosophies with which our generation will live shall be of our own choice and of our own making. "Let a hundred flowers bloom, let a thousand voices speak."

How many of us for that matter, have bothered to get a complete picture of such men as Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin; but above all the practices of the last three vis-a-vis Ukraine and her all-national aspirations? And this is absolutely necessary, so one wouldn't have to be exposed to such nonsense that Lenin and Trotsky were all for "national liberation..." etc.

Ukrainian history of the past fifty years should teach us all that the solution to Ukraine's problems lies in ourselves, in our experience, our resources primarily, because — and quite rightly so — nobody has the obligation to care about anybody else's problems. Is it so hard to understand that all of our former foreign "saviours" — the Lenins, Trotskys, Stalins, Hillers (who's next... Mao? Ghandi? Uncle Sam?), etc. — have looked at Ukraine in terms of grain, natural resources, and human (horse) power to develop Russian Siberia or to work in German factories and mines. This is the Ukrainian reality of the twentieth century we have to reckon with, whereas most of the theoretical niceties and slogans worked out by the aforementioned "saviours" are, in my opinion, just that (niceties) as far as present-day Ukraine is concerned.

There is only one way out for Ukraine if she is to develop UNHINDERED politically, economically, socially and culturally; state power must be gained by the UKRAINIAN people. This is paramount. Today we live in an era of revolutionary nationalism, artificial federalisms, internationalisms and imperialisms (plural) — all synonyms at gun-point, anyway — are dead horses. The U.N. is a dead horse too. Finally, for the coming year I wish us all the following:

1. to never make it to those nefarious ivory towers;
2. to restore some kind of sense of reality in our screwed-up minds;
3. anyone can achieve by going back to Moroz, Dziuba, Sverstiuk, Chornovil, the five issues of Ukrainskyi Visnyk, etc.;
4. to revolutionize our minds and actions, but with UKRAINIAN content;
5. to stop being the eternal khokhty and become, for a change, (and hopefully once and for all) UKRAINIANS (i.e. get rid of the inferiority complex).

Since I've already taken this load off my mind (i.e. telling you what I think about this Trotsky business plus). I'm going to end with a rather enlightening incident that happened to me the other day, which to my mind sums up beautifully my message to those who will bother reading my article. Well, the story is quite short: when I showed the Trotsky article to this horse friend of mine he started to laugh. And since I figured that nobody would believe me without effective proof, I took a picture (secretly of course) so I could share it with you. Here it is!

Oleh Romanynshyn



Tracking the Scythians



SKELETAL REMAINS OF PRINCESS COVERED WITH GOLD PLAQUES & OTHER ORNAMENTS

Soviet archaeologists have long been tantalized by the huge mounds of earth outside the town of Ordzhonikidze in southern Ukraine. But it was only when Soviet planners also began eyeing the region for its manganese deposits that the archaeologists acted to satisfy their curiosity about one particular site standing in the possible path of the bulldozers. What the archaeologists found there exceeded their most extravagant expectations. For the first time in more than half a century, diggers uncovered an unlooted royal tomb of the fabled Scythian tribesmen who roamed and ruled great areas of the Ruthenian heartland more than 2,000 years ago.

The Scythians left behind no written record when they finally vanished from the steppes in the 2nd century B.C. victims of intermarriage and conquest. But there was no end of legends about their ferocity in battle and their great troves of gold. The Greek historian Herodotus devoted more than half a volume to them. Still, it was not until the 19th century, when archaeologists began serious studies of the puzzling remains found scattered from the borders of China to the banks of the Dniester, that scholars would admit there might be more than a shard of truth to the old Scythian tales.

Now, the discovery of the royal tomb, which contains the skeletons of a prince, a princess and an infant — as well as other recent digs in the USSR — gives the old stories the ring of historical fact. Herodotus tells, for instance, how the Scythians beheaded their fallen enemies and brought the skulls back to camp to use as wine goblets. Archaeologist Renate Rolfe, a young West German woman and the first Western scientist allowed to participate in a Soviet dig since 1920, reports that there is new evidence of Scythian ferociousness. Lances and bows and arrows found in graves along with female skeletons and ornaments suggest that the Scythian women fought beside their men. Thus Herodotus may well have been correct when he said that bloodthirsty Scythian Amazons had to kill a man in battle before they were allowed to marry.

The Scythians were not always preoccupied with war. Besides tipping, they apparently liked tripping. Ancient bronze vessels found in Scythian graves in the Altai mountains, near China and Mongolia, still contain remnants of the nomads' favorite hemp seeds. They were also highly successful herders and farmers, who traded their grain to indulge their taste for expensive jewelry, such as a

magnificent gold pectoral ornament recovered from the new-found grave in Ukraine. Crafted by Greek goldsmiths, who probably lived among the Scythians along the Black Sea, the chestpiece contains no fewer than 44 exquisitely carved animals. Among them: such fantasy creatures as the griffin, which has the head, wings and forelegs of an eagle and the body of a lion.

Like the Egyptian pharaohs, Scythian rulers believed in taking their worldly goods with them. Their graves contain not only necklaces, rings and the small golden plaques that they fastened onto their garments, but also household implements, horses and even the remains of faithful servants. In one case, the fingers of a less richly adorned skeleton actually seemed to be clawing the ground. The telltale fingers lend credence to Herodotus' statement that servants were strangled in the grave, thus giving them the honor of serving their masters in the next world. Archaeologists also found scalped remains of Scythian enemies in frigid Altai graves, but those trophies were apparently not buried in any vengeful spirit. To spare their victims the indignity of a scalpless afterlife, the Scythians had painstakingly stitched hair back on.

Time Magazine Jan. 17/72

+originally, Time magazine incorrectly replaced Ruthenian with Russian.



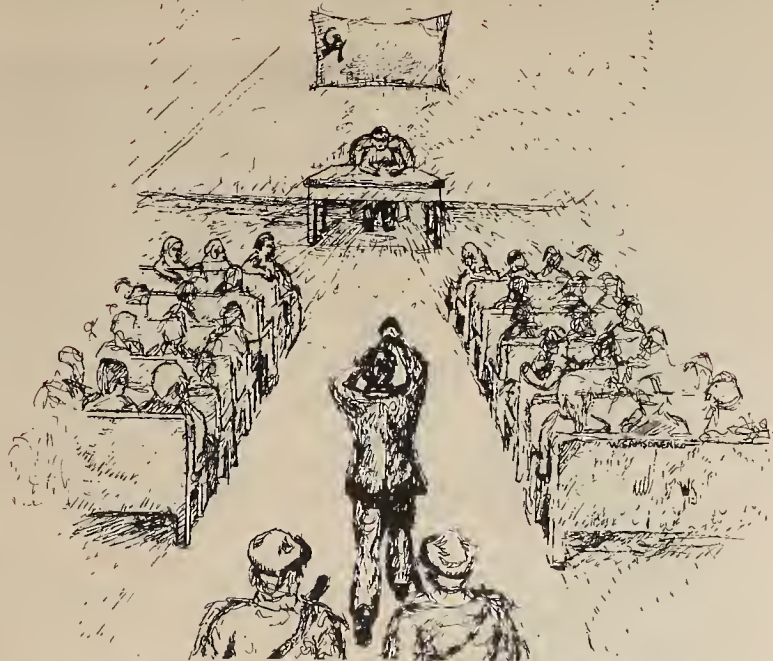
SUSTE (continued from page 4)

appeared in the Ukrainian-European newspapers months after things had been rolling in North America. Consequently the Moroz action in Europe took place months after the one in Canada and U.S., with the amount of time allotted for preparations being considerably limited. More important still, it produced a belated feeling of unity with Ukrainian students.

There was a consensus at the Congress, that the best solution to their problems would be the hiring of a fieldworker. This person would cooperate with KOUHITSU (superstructure equivalent to KYK) in building up a system of communication, and dissemination of information. He would help to set up Ukrainian schools, courses, nurseries, and encourage youth to join

the existing organisations. Exchanges between countries would be very profitable. This person would have to travel a great deal, since the Ukrainians are widely dispersed, and on the whole, not organized at all. For some, their only contact with Ukrainianism is a Church mass held every three weeks, or a three-week summer camp held for children and youth. I feel that through the newly-created "International Commission" the possibilities of sending a fieldworker over for a year, or for financing students in Europe should be looked into in detail. Also I strongly encourage the exchange of information between SUSK and the individual countries which are represented by students in SUSTE.

H.K.



"Valentyn Moroz spent the night of November 17, 18, 1970 in the courtroom. There was apparently great apprehension of organized attempts to steal him away or to arrange for ovations during the time he was being led out of the court...Valentyn Moroz was led into the courtroom under machine-gun surveillance. He turned to the people who stood

before the courtroom with both fists raised above his head, a powerful gesture which reminded one of Taras Shevchenko's figure in the well-known painting by Opanas Zalywakha and Alla Horska, which appears in this issue of STUDENT on page (From the "Ukrainian Herald", underground journal).

MANITOBA TEACH-IN

Ukrainian Students' Club at the university of Manitoba cordially invites all of your members to attend the Teach-In that we are holding on Feb. 4, 5, 6.

The purpose of this Teach-In is to bring together all those with special interest in contemporary problems confronting Canadian Ethnic Groups with focus on the Ukrainian-Canadian Community.

Sessions will focus on issues of:

1. multiculturalism
2. organization
3. communication
4. political action programs

5. the role of the students in Canadian Ethnic Politics.

At this Teach-In we wish to present a full spectrum of thought and opinion. With speakers and the active participation of students it should prove to be stimulating and beneficial. We sincerely hope that all interested individuals will come to express their views and take part in the planned discussions.

Sessions will be held at the U of M campus. There will be no registration fees for the Teach-In. Social functions will be held on Friday and Saturday evenings.

PLANNING COMMITTEE.
SEE YOU AT THE TEACH-IN!

Next issue of STUDENT:

A report on the proceedings
of the conference.

SUMMER FIELDWORK '72

This summer, as in previous years, the Ukrainian-Canadian University Students' Union will be continuing the field-work project. To those of you to whom the concept of field-work is new or unfamiliar, perhaps I can clarify any misunderstanding by presenting you with a brief outline of what a field-worker is, his function and aims, background and past history, future plans, and my own subjective opinions of field-work as I see it.

The field-worker in the role of social animator and community organizer, acts as a catalyst for community action and involvement. A field-worker does not work on projects, but organizes others to work on them and thus through community involvement instills a sense of community in these people. Hopefully, this sense of community would extend to a feeling of responsibility and concern for all Ukrainians.

The process of field-work is twofold: First, it serves to stimulate the development of the Ukrainian community within the context of the Canadian society and secondly, provides the individual with an opportunity for meaningful social involvement. The latter point is important — one not only learns about others, one learns about oneself, one's abilities, creativeness, strengths and weaknesses. It is a fantastic learning experience.

The fieldwork project, sponsored by the Ukrainian-Canadian University Students' Union, has

completed its third summer of community work. It began in the summer of 1969 when Bohdan Krawchenko travelled across Canada, animating students and analysing problems within the Ukrainian community. The student movement had begun.

The following summer, seven more field-workers went out into communities, armed with specific projects and issues. The program centered around the promotion of multiculturalism. It was realized that striving for a multicultural society was not an individual fight for the Ukrainian community but required a combined effort on the part of all ethno-cultural communities. A realization came with this new awareness — Canada was multicultural in all but name.

This past summer, through an Opportunities for Youth grant, 20 field-workers set out into their respective communities and proceeded to activate and sensitize the community to multiculturalism. Field-workers were sent into urban and rural areas. Our numbers were small, but we were determined to fight and win. Each one of us had a personal and emotional stake in the consequences.

Projects were undertaken on all levels: Governmental, community and individual. Some of these projects were: Lobbying of M.P.'s in government, political forums, student radio programming, summer recreational work with Ukrainian youth (mostly in the

rural areas), Ukrainian language course lobbying, information bureaus, Multicultural Conferences. The projects were as many and as varied as there were individual field-workers.

As with any action program, our field-work project had its share of problems: Lack of communication, personality conflicts, apathy, misinterpreted ideologies, lack of commitment, lack of honesty between the field-worker and himself, others and the co-ordinating committee. Even though there were difficulties, the field-work experience was very worthwhile. By the end of the summer, we were all more aware of the situation at hand. We knew what it was like to be Ukrainian in a predominantly Anglo-Saxon society, realizing our entanglement in a vicious circle that was never-ending. We experienced and felt discriminations trying to fight intolerance and narrow-mindedness.

In our own Ukrainian community, there were also problems. The Ukrainian language and culture was slowly dying out, particularly in the rural areas. Assimilation was taking its toll. There was general apathy and passivity among the Ukrainian people and most noticeably — a marked resignation to the fact, that if one was an "ethnic" one was a second-class citizen. We met "sell-outs", Ukrainians who had made it to the top of the social and economic ladder and had left the

Ukrainian community. We saw the narrow-mindedness of our "intellectual" elite and we felt the lack of highly-qualified persons in certain areas such as education and media. All of these insufficiencies hurt and with the hurt came the desire to act.

This summer, the field-work program will be continued, but once again, in the light of new and recent developments. As a result, the method and format requires appropriate modification. To ensure maximum effectiveness and a high percentage of community involvement, the focus will be on specific projects and issues. These projects are aimed at implementing Canada's multicultural policy into a working and practical reality.

The next issue of STUDENT will be partially devoted to "Summer Field-work '72", where the specific plans of the project will be disclosed. However, this much can be said: There will be three spheres of field-working — political, cultural and that dealing with research — all crucial and concomitant.

The value and potential of field-work should never be underestimated. It is one of the most, if not the most important means we have by which to work with the Ukrainian people in Canada. I would strongly suggest that each and every student in Canada consider field-work. The time to act is now.

Halya Kuchmij.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sir:

With all due respect to you as well as to your executive, allow me to share a few of my thoughts with you about your upcoming "JOY OF FREEDOM" festival dance.

The date you have chosen for the above-mentioned event (Jan. 29th), is the day on which we, the students of Quebec, as well as many of our sister clubs, commemorate the Battle of Kruty at which three hundred Ukrainian students were massacred. Our remembrance shall be a sober one. On Saturday, January 29th, 1972, SUSK Quebec, will encourage all of its students, as well as the general public, to march in a symbolic funeral cortège, through downtown Montreal. Following the procession, we shall stage a demonstration in front of the Soviet consulate.

On the following day, all Ukrainian parishes, Orthodox and Catholic, shall offer up a service for those who died at Kruty.

Whether you and your executive see these students as a bunch of stupid kids fighting for a hopeless battle, or whether you admire them, is not the question I wish to raise. No matter how your perspective slants them as, they died for what they believed in. Few enough people do that these days.

The Quebec executive of SUSK feels your event irresponsible and therefore cannot support it. There are fifty-two weeks in the year in which one can drink and dance. There is no excuse for a mocking such as yours.

Steve Andrusiak
President.

THE UKRAINIAN STUDENT AND NESTOR MAKHNO

In the course of the Ukrainian Political Theory Workshop, I have become aware of some interesting facts about Ukrainian history, the most interesting and disturbing of which is, that I and many others, knew less about our country's past than we deemed possible. It did not take me long to discover that my ten-years' experience of Ukrainian educational systems provided me with only a superficial and rather distorted image of Ukrainian history. I had a definite feeling of somehow having been cheated and manipulated, that the interpretation of Ukrainian history I had received was far from objective and encompassing in its perspective. It seemed as if there was a lot that had been deliberately left out. The truth of the matter is that the "Ukrainoznavstvo" one receives at any one of our overly-divided organizations is just as factionalized, biased, tendentious and impoverished as we all recognize these organizations to be. It is fundamentally a matter of intellectual honesty, integrity and truth in presenting ALL the facts of our people's history without subjecting them to semi-polemical, ultra-nationalistic misinterpretations and distortions. Furthermore, there is the damnation of silence, the conscious neglect of important people, movements and ideas in our political social and intellectual history. As students, we want to know ALL there is to know about our history. We want to be able to decide and evaluate for ourselves. Unfortunately, what we should know has already been decided for us. It is not so much a question of what we have been taught but of what we have not been taught. This form of indoctrination and censorship is aimed at depriving the Ukrainian student of the right to think independently, to weigh facts and perspectives and to arrive at his own conclusions about our confused history. We have been taught to accept, but not to think analytically. It is not surprising that many Ukrainian students learn more about their own history by studying that of Russia. A student's Ukrainian consciousness must, unfortunately, be stimulated outside our parochial educational systems.

Once the Ukrainian student becomes aware of the intellectual imprisonment imposed upon him, he has given himself the freedom and responsibility to free his mind from the narrow perspectives of many of our so-called educators. This can only be done by exposing himself to new ideas and new experiences, by confronting the political realities of one's community and history, by putting it into some form of a conscious perspective. This awareness is both personal and political, for it implies and necessitates both the freedom and responsibility of thought and decision.

This awareness demands to know ALL the facts about our history and it is up to the student to obtain them. Read Hrushevsky, but also read Vernadsky, E.H. Carr and Trotsky. One would find it hard to believe that they are talking about the same thing. It is a simple matter of political perspective, but this awareness necessarily forces the Ukrainian student to reconsider his strictly narrative knowledge of Ukrainian history and to be much more analytic with the tendentious interpretations of our history. The facts of our history cannot be changed but the interpretations can and must be reassessed. Appreciating the fact that there is a profound lack of understanding about Ukrainian social, political, economic and intellectual history, the various



interpretations must be seen in the light or the darkness of their particular political perspective. This must be constantly kept in mind when dealing with any aspect of Ukrainian history and especially when attempting to come to grips with the many ill-known facts of the years of National Revolution 1917-1920. A full and proper understanding of this highly complex time cannot be explained simply in terms of Petliura, the Rada and the Proclamations of January 22nd, 1918, for the Ukraine was involved in both a national liberation movement and a social and political revolution. There is a profound lack of attention devoted to the social and political characteristics of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle and the history of the nationalist movement is not the sole history of the period. The various forces operating in Ukraine during these years represent all shades of the political spectrum, ranging from the extreme right with feudal monarchists and hetmanites to centrist liberal republicans and democrats, to all parties of the left, such as bolsheviks, mensheviks, social revolutionaries and anarchists. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian student knows very little about the political breakdown of this period in Ukrainian history and there is much work to be done to fill this sorry vacuum in our historiography and our knowledge. What is worse is that he is actively discouraged from even attempting to learn more about the political forces of this period other than

those of the nationalist right. If it happened, we want to know about it. We must decide and think for ourselves.

One of the best examples of this is the intellectual persecution in the case of Nestor Makhno and the Anarchist movement during the Ukrainian Revolution. In my attempts to learn more about his relation to this period in Ukrainian history, I most often met with a wide variety of negative attitudes in the books and the people I consulted. The usual comment was sneering, "Why do you want to know anything about that bandit?" The simple fact that I just wanted to know seemed insufficient. The very hostile and emotional attitudes elicited just by the very name of the "black spirit" were often directed at me personally. One old man even threw me out of his store for invoking the memory of the black bandit. Yet once in a while I met some people who remembered Makhno as a sort of Ukrainian Robin Hood and they talked about him as the only man in those revolutionary times who cared at all about the common people. Clearly there are different criteria for assessing the role played by Makhno and the anarchists. The controversy surrounding the otaman has been intensified by the lack of reliable and concrete information and this has served to increase the interest in the already legendary Bat'ko Makhno. Not surprisingly he is the subject of a number of literary works such as A Nikolaev's Nestor Makhno and Bat'ko Makhno and

most recently he figures in Honchar's Sobor (Kiev, 1968).

For all the interest and passions he arouses, there is remarkably little factual material to be had and in the case of Makhno, it is quite difficult to separate fact from legend. The few articles available reveal more about their authors' political and nationalistic biases than they do about Makhno and Anarchism. Most studies of the movement are openly polemical works by Bolsheviks or anarchists and Ukrainian material on Makhno is at best, hate literature. Ukrainian studies of Makhno are invariably evaluated strictly in terms of whether he supported or opposed the creation of a Ukrainian national state and the importance of his role in regards to the Independence Struggle itself. Even from this limited perspective, not all authors are in agreement for example:

In the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle, Makhno's role was so negative and destructive that he deserves only to be ignored." F. Meleshko.

"Bat'ko N. Makhno was a capable leader of the Zaporozhian faction of our National Liberation Movement and led an unceasing struggle against the enemies of our people, without surrendering under any circumstances, without betraying his people and without sparing his own strength or life." V. Dubrovsky.

However, if we are to come to a political analysis of Ukrainian revolutionary history, it would be a mistake to evaluate it in terms of the national independence movement alone, for this perspective refuses to take into account those forces operating within the context of political and social revolution. This nationalist form of historical interpretation operates solely within a middle class political and conceptual framework. It is only a measure of the paucity of political analysis of Ukrainian history. It is absurd to deal with Makhno, an ideologically committed anarchist in terms of his relation to the creation of a Ukrainian state. His political and personal philosophy was anti-theoretical to groups seeking to set up a state of any type regardless of what his own national self-identification might be.

Makhno himself was a russified peasant with a background of primitive and spontaneous anarchistic revolutionary activity dating from 1905. His imprisonment in Moscow's Butyrka prison exposed him to Russian anarchists who effectively entrenched his cultural Russification. His spontaneous peasant rebelliousness was given form in a primitive understanding of an anarchist political philosophy that was culturally Russian. It is ridiculous to think of Makhno as culturally Ukrainian and it is thus impossible to ascribe to him any kind of a role in the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle. His center of operation was Hulia-Pole, overwhelmingly Ukrainian in population, but close to the Russified centers of Katerynoslav and Oleksandrovsk, which were the backbone of the culturally Russian and predominantly urban form of intellectual anarchism in the Ukraine. Makhno was a brilliant guerrilla tactician but an ideologist he was not. His limited conception of anarchist theory was shaped through his association with the Nabat group of anarchists, most of whom were from Moscow. These Russian anarchists dismissed the question of nationalism as irrelevant in the face of the more important

questions of the quality of social and political life. Like his mentors, Makhno was interested only in social revolution, not in a search for national consciousness. To him Ukrainian consciousness was only another bourgeois ideology to be combatted. The anarchists in Ukraine suffered from a total non-perception of the problem of Ukrainian consciousness. It did not fit into their theoretical categories except under the headings of "socialist chauvinists" and "bourgeois reactionaries". The distinction between political activity for a Ukrainian state and the mere assertion of one's linguistic-national identity as Ukrainian was very vague during this period. This was especially true in Katerynoslav Gubernia, where Ukrainian political and cultural life was particularly underdeveloped. To assert oneself as "Ukrainian" at this time was a political position in itself, which in Makhno's limited theoretical framework was viewed as a bourgeois political movement of the village intelligentsia. Makhno's anarchism and Ukrainian nationalism were simply diametrically opposed to each other. Between Makhno who placed all stress on the needs of social revolution and the Ukrainian forces who placed great emphasis on Ukrainian cultural and national aspirations, there could be no common ground.

An interesting fact is the attempted Ukrainization of the Makhnovschyna, for the need to communicate with the Ukrainian peasant masses, which constituted the majority of Makhno's following, was an obvious necessity. Ironically, the leader of this attempted Ukrainization was Makhno's wife, Halyna Kuzmenko. Unfortunately, her efforts and those of other Ukrainian anarchist intellectuals would not overcome the powerful influence of the Bat'ko's Dostoyevskian personality. While Makhno appears to have given little thought to his own national identity or the Ukrainian reawakening during the Revolutionary Period, he did so while in emigration in Paris. He came to see himself as an Ukrainian anarchist and believed that it would be necessary for any future anarchist movement in Ukraine to be culturally Ukrainian in order to secure mass support.

Clearly when dealing with Makhno one must be aware of his political philosophy, his cultural background and the underdeveloped state of political and national consciousness of those times. The Makhnovschyna was more in the tradition of spontaneous, peasant rebellions of Stenka Razin and Pugachov, for the political awareness of the peasant following was non-existent and Makhno himself was no more than a primitive rebel with an elementary anarchist education. When trying to analyze the diverse political and social realities of national revolution in Ukraine, we must avoid making the facile judgements that abound in most of our historical material. It is much easier to bend the truth than to straighten it. Makhno is only an extreme example of such superficial and inadequate analysis, which appears all too frequently in the span of a student's formal Ukrainian education. As a case in point, it is not simply a question of Makhno the Bat'ko or the Bandit, but of Makhno the fact.

Roman Semenowycz,
4th Year Student
Political Science,
University of Toronto.

The sickness a dissident sees in Russia

THE GLOBE AND MAIL, FRIDAY, JAN. 14, 1972

A few days ago Vladimir Bukovsky, a Russian dissident, was convicted in Moscow on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and sentenced to seven years in prison and five years of exile. Following are excerpts from his closing address to the court, as reported by Reuters.

By VLADIMIR BUKOVSKY

MOSCOW

BEFORE MY ARREST there was constantly a tail on me. I was pursued, threatened with murder, and one of those following me lost his self-restraint to such an extent that he threatened me with his service weapon.

While under investigation I petitioned for a criminal case to be instituted against these people. I even gave the number of the official car in which these people travelled around behind me and presented other facts which made it possible for them to be sought out.

No answer

However, I never received an answer to this request from those departments to which I sent it.

As far as the detective is concerned, he, instead of examining my complaint and giving me an answer, sent me to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry for medical examination.

The investigation department of the KGB very much wanted me to be found irresponsible. How convenient. Then there would be no case about me, no need to construct a charge and here there would be no need to prove the fact of commission of a crime. The man is just sick, mad.

And only on Nov. 5, after pressure was exerted by the public, a new medical commission pronounced me healthy.

There you have trustworthy proof of my assertion—which is called slanderous here in court—that on the instructions of the KGB psychiatric reprisals are set up against dissenters.

In accordance with my right to defence, I demanded that the lawyer Dina Isakovna Kaminskaya be invited for my defence in court. No lawyer was given me.

It took my 12-day hunger strike, a complaint to the prosecutor general, to the Justice Ministry and the Communist Party Central Committee and also new, active in-

tervention by members of the public before my legal right to defence was finally fulfilled and I was given lawyer Shveits, who was invited by my mother.

The trial proceedings today have also been conducted with numerous procedural infringements. The indictment, in which the word "slanderous" is used 33 times and the word "anti-Soviet" 18 times, contains no concrete indications of which facts are slanderous among those I communicated to Western correspondents and which materials which I allegedly distributed are anti-Soviet.

I allegedly handed over these materials in the presence of Volpin and Chalidze (Aleksandr Yessenin-Volpin, son of poet Sergei Yessenin, and Valeri Chalidze, a physicist and member of an unofficial Soviet civil rights committee).

However, my demand that these two people be called as witnesses was not met. Furthermore, not one of the eight people I called who could confirm the authenticity of my assertions on the facts of confinement and conditions of detention of people in special psychiatric hospitals was summoned to the court.

What were all these provocations and crude procedural violations needed for, this stream of slander and unfounded accusations? What was this trial needed for? Only to punish one person?

Terror tactics

No, there is a "principle," a kind of "philosophy" here. Behind the accusation presented there stands another, unrepresented. With the reprisal against me they want to frighten those who try to tell the whole world about their crimes.

Our society is still sick. It is sick with the fear which has come down to us from the Stalin era. But the process of the public's spiritual enlightenment has already begun and cannot be stopped.

And however long I have to spend in detention I will never renounce my convictions and I will express them, availing myself of the right given me by Article 125 of the Soviet Constitution, to all who want to listen to me. I will fight for legality and justice. And I regret only that over the short period—one year, two months and three days—during which I was at liberty, I managed to do too little for this cause.

Протестна заява В. Чорновола

ПРОТИ НИЩЕННЯ СТІЛЕЦЬКИХ МОГИЛ У ЛЬВОВІ

(УЦІС, Лондон). — На Захід надістався новий документ з України, який у відписці передається там з рук до рук. Є це протестна заява Вячеслава Чорновола, адресована до московських імперських наставників в Україні, проти варварського нищення окупаційною владою могили українських воїнів на Янівському цвинтарі у Львові. Нижче подасмо повний текст Заяви.

Київ
Президії Верховної Ради
УРСР, тов. Ляшків
ЦК КПУ, тов. Овчарен-
кові

Першому заступнику в і
Голови Ради Міністрів УР-
СР, тов. Тронькові

ЗАЯВА

Важко уявити щось ди-
кніше, антигуманніше і стра-
шніше, як наука над по-
мерлими. Мабути „людя-
ніше“ розстріляти людину,
ніж потім бульдозером зне-
сти її могили і повикидати
із землі кості...

Те, що тепер коїться на
Янівському цвинтарі у
Львові, майже в центрі Ев-
ропи, може випроковатися
кіба найдикішими азіатсь-
кими середньовічними мір-
ками. Під наглядом спеці-
ально приставлених осіб

бульдозер зриває стрілець-
кі могили, а лопати граба-
рів вивертають людські ос-
танки. Кажуть, робиться це
за санкцією голови
Львівського обласного
Телішевського. Не знаю, як
адміністративні таланти
має ця людина, що їй дові-
рили таку відповідальну
посаду, але однієї цієї ди-
кості достатньо, щоб зне-
людного чиновника роз-
жалувати у свинопаси.

Задумавшись над тим,
що твориться. По перше,
наруга над могилами пря-
мого ворога — це блюзнір-
ство, відкинувши цивілізова-
ний світ. Смерть зрів-
нює погляди й ідеології. І
смерть вимагає до себе по-
шани. У кримінальному ко-
дексі УРСР є стаття 212,
яка передбачає криміналь-
ні санкції за глум над мо-

гилами. По друге, чи га-
лицькі юнаки, які жили
наприкінці 1918 р. і поля-
гли в боротьбі з польськими
легіонерами, відстоюючи
Галичину від колоніально-
го поневолення панською
Польщею — це вороги рад-
влади? Ще не відомо, де
опинилися би вони якби не
полягли в ті дні. Можливо
були б в Армії УНР, а мож-
ливо в ЧУГА. До речі, ама-
тори цитатів знаходять по-
зитивні слова про стріле-
ць у Леніна. За що ж їм,
загиблим понад 50 років
тому, мстять зараз? За те,
що рятували Галичину від
польського гніту? Ми, що
не розпісуємося в солідар-
ності з підсудчиками, з па-
цифікацією, з Березою
Картузькою, — бачимо, що
навіть поляки, окупував-
ши Галичину і ненавидячи
стрільців як ворогів, не
вчинили наруги над стрі-
лецькими могилами. Не
додумались до відвертого
знищення могили навіть
при Сталіні, хоч наругу
над ними чинили. До чо-
го ж дійшли ми з вами?

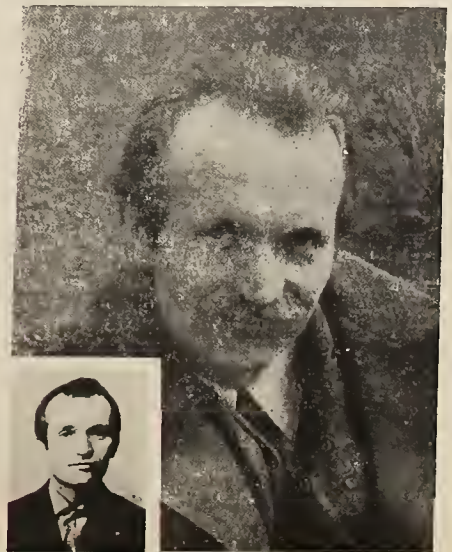
Багато говорять зараз
про підступ буржуазної
ідеології. Не думаю, щоб
усі буржуазні видавництва
і радіостанції, разом узяті,
спромогли на такої сили
антирадянську пропаган-
ду, як один львівський
бульдозер, що постинав го-
лови стрілецьким крестам.

Після пожежі Держав-
ної бібліотеки Академії
Наук УРСР у 1964 р. і по-
літичних арештів за від-
криті висловлювання пе-
реконань у наступні роки
важко назвати дію, яка б
так підірвала авторитет
радянської як теперішнє без-
чистство у Львові. Наслідки
вже є. Тисячі галичан про-
йшли за ці дні біля осквер-
нених і сплюндрованих мо-
гил. Серед населення замі-
щення й обурення. Ходять
чутки про наміри теж да-
лекі від людяності, а може
й провокаційні, погромити
у відповідь могили партій-
них і військових керівни-
ків і т. д. Невже ж дійдемо

до того, що вводитимемо
стан облоги на кладови-
щак?

Я утримувався від одно-
осібних звернень до партій-
них і радянських керів-
ників після того, як у 1967
р. за справедливий заува-
ження про порушення
норм соціалістичної закон-
ності мене спочатку кину-
ли за ґрати, а потім збро-
ли з кнотика й журналіста
залізничним робітником.
Але сьогодні мовчати не
можу. В ім'я людяності за-
кликаю вас втрутитися в
дії провінційних самодурів
і зупинити глум над стрі-
лецькими могилами, відно-
вити частину зруйнованих
поховань і перенести звід-
там тіла похованих на чу-
жій кістках людей. Відме-
жуйтеся тим самим від зло-
чину, який зараз чиниться
у Львові.
16. 8. 1971 р.

Вячеслав Чорновіл
м. Львів, вул. Спокійна 13.



ВЯЧЕСЛАВ ЧОРНОВІЛ

ПО ЧОТИРЬОХ РОКАХ ПЕРЕСЛІДУВАННЯ

Ukrainian Stragedy

Some 13,000 people witnessed the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko monument in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Five hundred Ukrainians from Canada travelled to Argentina to stand in the noon heat to participate in the ceremony. This event was solemnly reported in the Ukrainian press as yet another outstanding achievement in the history of Ukrainians in the diaspora. Amidst this orgy of self-congratulation a faint voice of dissent was heard from Ivan Kozak, chairman of the Ad-Hoc Committee for Economic Sanity.

Kozak, a four-year honours economics student at the University of Toronto considered the trip, made by the five hundred Ukrainians to Argentina, as a "monument to the most scandalous misallocation of funds in the history of the Ukrainians in Canada."

"We continuously hear of worthwhile projects abandoned, shelved, for lack of funds," explains Mr. Kozak. Yet, as he points out, 500 Ukrainians from Canada, spent a total of \$365,000 to travel to Argentina to mingle with a crowd of 13,000 at the opening ceremonies. "The return fare cost approximately \$330, the average expenditure per person in Argentina was \$400, multiply that by 550 and you get \$365,000 spent on what I consider to be a bloody waste," said Kozak in an enraged tone.

When asked if he was opposed to any form of representation of the Ukrainian Canadian community at the ceremony, Kozak replied, "No, a hand picked delegation of five would have accomplished the task admirably."

"It's scandalous," reiterated Kozak. "The annual budget of the

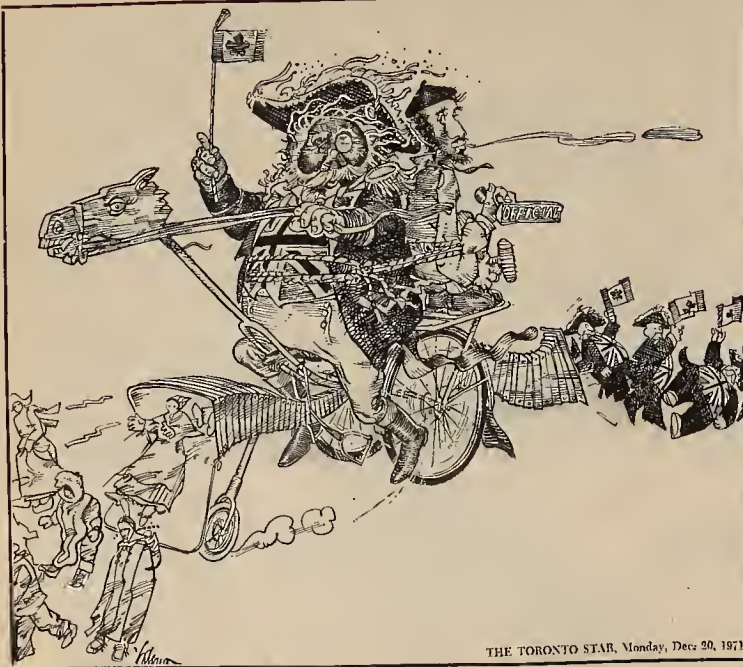
National Executive of the Ukrainian Canadian Committee is \$35,000. They hoped for \$45,000, but they only got \$35,500. The National Executive of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union (SUSK) last year had a larger budget than the co-ordinating body of all Ukrainians in Canada, the Ukrainian Canadian Committee."

Mr. Kozak was particularly critical of the Ukrainian press which solemnly reported the flight of 500 Ukrainians to Argentina without critical comment. "They have lost all perspective," he complained.

Other members of the Ad Hoc Committee for Economic Sanity were quick to point out that \$365,000 could have kept the Ukrainian Canadian Committee running for 10 years, or built 10 large Ukrainian schools in Argentina.

MULTICULTURALISM & UKRAINIANISM:

MIDDLE CLASS SELLOUT PART II



THE TORONTO STAR, Monday, Dec. 20, 1971

In the last issue of *STUDENT* we tried to summarize the concept of multiculturalism. The argument was basically that Ukrainians, Poles, Italians and other minority ethno-cultural groups should not treat the question of their survival and development as being paramount, to the exclusion of the more fundamental questions of social change, economic equality and political democracy. The article went a bit further, and tentatively, in fact even timidly, proposed the idea that multiculturalism according to its genuine consequential meaning could not be fully realized within a society which espouses crass individualism and judges culture by the standards of the market-place. We further argued that the leadership in the Ukrainian community (or the most successful upwardly mobile individuals) were channeling the community's human, political and financial resources in a very limited direction. Their only vision of Canadian society was one in which every Ukrainian would be given the opportunity to "make it" in all fields of endeavour without dragging the chains of social prejudice and minority group stigmatization. In itself, this objective can be considered noble and positive, but when linked to the more essential problems in our society, it begins to sound ethnocentric and static.

At the same time, the "leadership" (and I use "leadership" only out of politeness) also wishes the potential careerist to actively maintain his ethno-cultural ties, despite the fact that in our present Canadian society upward mobility and minority group allegiance are mutually exclusive variables to the building of one's career.

It seems then, that we have come to the paradox of multiculturalism, quite rightly pointed out by John Porter: given the fact that our society is unresponsive to both upward mobility and minority ethno-cultural allegiance, does not multiculturalism by strengthening ethnic group maintenance, solidify and perpetuate the inequality of opportunity? The few paragraphs which follow below will try and examine how both the Federal governments and Ukrainian intellectuals have responded to this

thesis, for inevitably the logic of Porter's argument remains correct (if not static) and poses for us two fundamental questions: does multiculturalism preserve one's ethno-cultural background to the detriment of upward mobility or is the concept of multiculturalism dynamic and far reaching enough to seriously bring into question social, political and economic inequalities and thereby present a model of a more just and egalitarian Canadian society?

Let us first consider the Federal government's reaction to this potential problem. After deciphering what Northrop Frye has called "federal prose" one is immediately struck by the Trudeau government's "double-talk" and lack of commitment to the policy of genuine multiculturalism. On the one hand, Trudeau, when announcing the policy said that Canada is a "classless society" adding that the government must do everything possible to root out present inequalities. Taking his analysis, we are led to presume that these inequalities do not stem from what is usually referred to as a Marxist economic analysis of society. Therefore there must be other factors at stake. It seems that one of these determinants to upward mobility is ethno-cultural association, as proven by Porter et al. Now, if we are to take Trudeau's concern for greater equality and opportunity seriously then his government's policy would suggest to us that he not only saw benefit in ethno-cultural maintenance but also saw the need to break down the barriers to social mobility. Rather than tackling both issues the Trudeau government decided to endorse upward mobility and tokenism on ethno-cultural group survival. How else can we interpret the Federal government's response that one can choose one's level of activity in an ethnic group. Thus to guarantee its survival would be undemocratic to those that don't want this stigma. In this way he has signed the death warrant of all minority groups in Canada, because when given the choice between upward mobility and one's community group activity the past has shown us that most opt for the former alternative; yet when these

ethnics try to "make it" they realize that it is all a delicate subterfuge, for one is treated as neither Ukrainian nor Anglo-Saxon, but as a sell-out. So let's not kid ourselves about the Federal government's position; it is ultimately designed to maintain the status quo by neither eliminating the ethno-cultural bias nor opening the gates to careerists who have reneged on their background. We are arguing therefore that Trudeau could have done both by guaranteeing the survival of minority ethnic groups and thereby legitimizing diversity and careerist aspirations.

The other area to be yet examined in detail is how Ukrainian-Canadians see the resolution of this dilemma. We think it obvious that most people see that multiculturalism in both its aims and methods will have some political and social implications for Canadian society. Examples abound on how we have mobilized our resources to disseminate the idea and put the theory into action. Yet, when one looks at the arguments presented one cannot help but feel that no one really knows where it's all leading to. It comes to mind that three ideas have been put forth on the ultimate objective of a multicultural Canada; 1) the establishment of inter-group tolerance; 2) the humanizing influence of ethno-cultural groups in a post-industrial society; 3) and finally, that multiculturalism will lead to a more decentralized, less impersonal and therefore a more community-oriented government. I propose to spend the second part of this article on analysing the strengths and weaknesses of these arguments and from there to a critique of how we are dealing with multiculturalism politically.

"Repressive Tolerance"

In the recent past, some of our intellectuals, specifically Messieurs Krawchenko and Semotuk, have, in their papers, purported that a tolerant society "will not only accept cultural and linguistic variation, but also other differences that distinguish other minority groups in our society". It is true that both gentlemen made allusions to economic, social and political quality as being necessary contingencies to

the full development to this idea but they did this in a sloppy and half-hearted way, glibly passing to what they thought was the more important factor — ethno-cultural survival. I give these men their due, but their naivete about the dynamics of a society overwhelms me. Presumably then, this idea can also lead us to a tolerant attitude towards the plight of the poor, which in Toronto alone, number 10 percent of the population.

To illuminate why we feel that to bank on the idea of tolerance is purely utopian, at this stage, allow me to quote a section from Herbert Marcuse's *Repressive Tolerance* who to my mind has presented one of the most devastating critiques of this concept: "... tolerance is an end in itself only when it is truly universal, practised by the rulers as well as by the ruled... As long as these conditions do not prevail, the conditions of tolerance are 'loaded': they are determined and defined by the institutionalized inequality... i.e. by the class structure of society. In such a society tolerance is de facto limited on the dual ground of legalized violence or suppression (police, armed forces, guards of all sorts,) and of the privileged position held by the predominant interests and their connections." No one is suggesting (as does Rabbi Kahane of the JDL), that the potential revolutionary force in North America will be the Third Element and that the rulers will have to resort to armed suppression. What is suggested, rather, is that appeals to tolerance fall on deaf ears on one who is a victim and on receptive souls when it is expedient.

Mystical Utopias

Just as the appeal to tolerance is utopian, so the idea of ethno-cultural groups somehow humanizing a post-industrial society becomes comically utopian and pseudo-Marxist. One is reminded of the East European Marxist economists who patiently await this post-industrial society, in order that the "new man" can at last fulfill himself. Such an appeal to the future totally neglects the present condition of man by distorting even the present. For example, can anyone seriously believe, that "Man today has been freed from the struggle of surviving?" We may indeed someday, solve this problem but to argue that multiculturalism should be encouraged and accepted on this level, smacks of a mystical retreat from reality.

The most serious argument is really the equation made between multiculturalism and decentralization of political power.

Is Community Control the Answer?

The people who maintain such a thesis conclude that "taking multiculturalism to its logical conclusion this concept advocates community control over its resources to ensure the freedoms of the lifestyle of the group." Looking at this carefully, we come to realize that this conclusion, on the contrary, is not logically explained, and even more important, this thesis falls prey to an exaggerated view of citizen participation. For example, this concept raises, but does not answer certain fundamental questions, such as, what is the significance of concentrating our resources on attaining influence in lower levels of government and education if the higher levels of government do not substantially change their hostile attitude to ethno-cultural groups? If we are interested in upward mobility as well as ethno-cultural group allegiance the more advantageous alternative is to obviously channel our strength into influencing the upper echelons of decision-making in government and education administrations. One of our main tasks at this time then, must be to pressure the federal and provincial governments to work out an "umbrella" clause between themselves,

to make a definite commitment to the preservation and development of ethno-cultural groups. Only then will these minority ethnic groups be protected against the fluctuations of public opinion and social prejudice on the lower levels of governmental administration.

Furthermore, this idea of community control, as the ultimate conclusion of multiculturalism can be periphrastically the biggest 'loophole' for the established groups in our society, for the simple reason that community control does not address itself to the upwardly mobile professionals and intellectuals of the particular ethno-cultural community. Quebecois intellectuals for example, found that the parochial education they were receiving did not equip them either conceptually or realistically to deal with the larger society outside of Quebec. The danger then of community control of schools, is that because of its provincial emphasis, there could arise the very same dilemma.

When considering community control by itself, without the federal-provincial agreement, these observations become only signposts to potential crises. This nevertheless, should force us to reconsider the consequences of some of our political activity. Taking the case of trying to get Ukrainian into the schools of Ontario, it becomes obvious that many of us treat this as the sole purpose of the activity. In all honesty, however, can we expect someone who is interested in a career to seriously consider studying Ukrainian? Parents of such children would be operating in the child's self-interest to question such an alternative. So we are left to ensuring that Ukrainians (and all ethno-cultural minorities) will be protected by law, against discrimination and minority group interests.

In conclusion the most important argument presented has been that the two factors of upward mobility and minority ethno-cultural group allegiance, must be considered when referring to the ultimate objectives of multiculturalism. The point must be made that if we accept the present state of Canadian society, by not challenging it, then our stress on active participation in one's ethnic group can be to the detriment of our long interests. We therefore have to ally ourselves, on the local level at least, to the more progressive and critical social movements of our time. In addition, we must seek federal and provincial guarantees on the continued survival of our culture and language. In this way we will not only challenge Porter's static concept of Canadian society but also fulfill the humanitarian objectives we have set for ourselves.

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1. See John Porter, *The Vertical Mosaic* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press). A more recent study appears in the Canadian *Journal of Anthropology and Sociology*, 1970, by Mary Jo Kerner on the permeation of Toronto's elite by "ethnic" groups.
2. Speech given by Bohdan Krawchenko at the Hart House Multicultural Canada conference in 1969. See also Anrew Semotuk's unpublished paper *Multiculturalism: A Three Dimensional Perspective*.
3. Herbert Marcuse, "Repressive Tolerance," p. 84.
4. Bohdan Krawchenko's speech.
5. Position paper presented at the Eastern Canada Presidents' Conference on December 27, 1971.